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WARSAW PACT ARMY YOUTH HEAR GDR'S KESSLER

AU012223 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29-30 Nov 80 p 8

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Main Political Administration of the National People's Army [NVA], on Friday at the Defense Ministry received leading youth functionaries of the armies of the Warsaw Pact member states. They had deliberated in the past few days on problems of the communist education of army members.

Meetings of this kind, Colonel General Kessler stated, have always helped to generalize the experiences of youth organizations in the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies, and thus to make their activities at the side of commanders, political organs and party organizations even more effective for a high fighting strength and combat readiness.

"The NVA's experiences demonstrate that it is possible to achieve good results in communist education, because our uniform socialist youth union is led by the SED and because the party has always regarded youth policy as a firm, incontestable part of its overall policy." Thus, a classminded education is always at the center of youth work in the NVA. The FDJ branches are striving to educate the soldiers in loyalty and dedication to the ideals of the communists, and in an exemplary fulfillment of military duty. An inseparable part of this is education in socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

In conclusion of their joint conference in the GDR, the youth functionaries of the fraternal armies on Monday visited the "Ho Chi Minh" border troop unit. The comrades in arms placed offerings of flowers in the grove dedicated to Ho Chi Minh, and commenorated the eminent communist and internationalist. The climax of the friendly meetings in the troop unit was an inspiring militant rally.

BRIEFS

CEMA GEOLOGISTS MEETING--The CEMA Standing Commission For Geology held its 40th meeting in Halle from 13 to 16 October. At the meeting, which was attended by delegations from the CEMA member countries and by a Yugoslav delegation, questions of cooperation in further intensifying geological survey and prospecting programs were discussed, with a view to consolodating the energy, fuel and raw material basis of the fraternal countries. The participants adopted appropriate decisions for deepening scientific-technical cooperation. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Oct 80 p 2 AU]

CEMA SESSION IN PLOVDIV--The 57th session of the CEMA permanent Committee on Chemical Industry began in Plovdiv on 27 October 1980. It is attended by delegations from Bulgaria, the GDR, Cuba, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary and the CSSR under the leadership of chemical industry ministers, as well as by representatives from the SFRY. The session was opened by Guenther Wyschofsky, GDR minister of chemical industry. George Pankov, minister of chemical industry of Bulgaria and leader of the Bulgarian delegation, delivered a greetings address. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Oct 80 p 3 AU]

CEMA TECHNICAL SESSION--An international conference of experts from CEMA member-countries on technical problems of welding opened in Varna. Through 5 days representatives of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland and Hungary will discuss the developement of welding technology with various kinds of electrode wires. The draft plan on joint work in this area will also be discussed for the period 1981-85. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 18 Nov 80 AU]

ROMANIAN DELEGATE CALLS FOR CSCE CONTINUITY

AU021931 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1839 GMT 2 Nov 80

[Text] Madrid, 2 Nov (AGERPRES)--In the plenary session of the Madrid conference, Romania's representative, Ambassador Ion Datcu made an extensive presentation of his country's position as concerns the ensuring of the continuity of the process and follow-up of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, declaring:

Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu personally have made from the very beginning an active and persevering contribution to the working out of the Final Act and resolutely acted in order to confer on it vitality and permanent value. We have promoted and upheld clear-cut and precise formulae of a nature to ensure the continuity of this process. We consider that this is a matter of principle, a basic one which deserves full attention.

The Romanian representative insisted on the fact that the implementation of the greatly important principles, purposes and targets agreed upon in Helsinki needs an overt, wide embracing conception as to the framework and forms of cooperation and of concerting the states' effort for their translation into life.

The speaker also stressed that such objectives of utmost importance as the adoption of actual measures by stages allowing for attaining general and complete disarmament in the end, cannot be achieved without ensured continuity of the CSCE process. This continuity, the speaker added, is to Romania an integral, inseparable and unquestionable part of the Final Act and, as we see it, it is impossible to divorce the chapter related to the institutional follow-up of the conference from the rest of the Final Act without earthily [as received] affecting the edifice of this document, without making it lose its equilibrium and its very reason of being.

The speaker then emphasized that in Romania's conception a defining, remarkable element of the CSCE process is the fact that it is conceived and placed outside military alliances, outside the bloc policy. Every country, big or small, directly participates, as a sovereign and independent subject, based on the democratic procedures accepted by consensus. This direct participation, based on juridic legality, of every state is naturally beneficial to all countries, irrespective of their dimension, power, geographic location, social system, allegiance or nonallegiance to military alliances.

Pointing out that Romania conceives the building of security and development of cooperation in Europe as a dynamic process of long duration, as a wide front of actions and meetings, a permanent dialogue, the speaker referred to the meetings of experts held in Bonn, Hamburg, Montreaux and La Valletta, stressing that the conclusion stemming from this experience is that it should be continued and deepened in the future, since the complexness of the problems in Europe demands the creation and maintenance of a permanent body of negotiations so that actual progress may be made on the road of building security and developing cooperation on the continent. A first category of meetings are the periodical reunions of representatives of the participating states, such as those in Belgrade and Madrid, that ought to take place once in two-three years, having the mission, besides assessing the immediate results in the fulfilment of the pledges taken, also to agree, in keeping with the Final Act, upon fresh actions and measures for the translation into life of the Helsinki signed documents.

The questions of military disengagement and disarmament on the continent require, as proved by the numerous initiatives and suggestions tabled in recent years, to be examined within a specific, new-type framework, in a conference on disarmament in Europe, as part of the CSCE process and be subordinated to the main target--the establishment of real security on the continent.

The speaker showed that Romania declared for the periodical arrangement of further meetings of experts on the distinct questions stipulated by the Final Act, in view of examining new more efficient forms of cooperation in such fields of mutual interest as energy, commercial exchanges, cadre training, science and culture. In this context, he highlighted the necessity of setting up a permanent body that should allow of the examination of the tabled proposals and suggestions, of all the problems regarding security and cooperation in Europe that may crop up inbetween the CSCE regular meetings, stressing that the evolution of the international situation, the influence of the European climate on interstate relations on a world scale, just as the right and duty of each country to participate directly at the level of the decision-making political factors render the convening of a new all-European conference at the level of heads of state and government necessary. The guarantee of the continuity of the European dialogue, the relaunching and deepening of the process of building security and developing cooperation on the continent can exert a strong influence having the value of example for the entire world. They can be a stimulus for the responsible and positive tendencies in the world and contribute to lessening the accumulated tensions.

Stressing the high-principled, primordial importance Romania attaches to the continuity of the process of the CSCE, the speaker stated: We consider that the principle of rotation, for the acceptance of which Romania, in collaboration with other countries, made persevering efforts, must be rigorously observed in all its aspects, the fixing of the place of the future CSCE meeting included.

All delegations and the governments of the participating states know that Romania proposed the convening of the future CSCE meeting in Bucharest--initiative advanced by the most authorized representative of our country, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, set forth at the present meeting in the general statement made by the Romanian foreign minister. The Romanian people and Government are convinced that this initiative addressed to the other 34 signatory states will enjoy unanimous support. The speaker stated in conclusion that his country's hope as regards the approval of this initiative was grounded on Romania's constructive stand on the question of building a united Europe of peace, understanding and security; on her persevering and tireless efforts for the promotion of the Helsinki spirit, for the integral translation into fact of the provisions of the document signed at top level in the Finnish capital city; on the identity between the vital interests of the Romanian people and the establishment of a durable and real system of security in Europe, of a climate of cooperation and independence of each nation on the continent.

Next, the head of the Dutch delegation, Ambassador Van Dongen placed special emphasis on the importance attached by Romania to the continuity of the process begun in Helsinki expressing full support to this comprehensive concept that underlies the entire activity of the Madrid meeting.

Holland's delegation, the speaker said, was glad to listen to such a clear statement on a question of such importance as that of the continuity of the CSCE. He stated that the progress on the road of detente was closely linked to the ensurance of the unconditional continuity of the CSCE process.

TRADE PROTOCOL WITH BULGARIA SIGNED IN TIRANA

AU282028 Sofia BTA in English 1904 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] Sofia, 28 Nov (BTA)--The newspapers ZERI I POPULLIT and BASHKIMI report on the signing by Albania and Bulgaria of a trade and payment agreement for the 1981-1985 period, as well as of a trade and payment protocol for 1981. On Albanian side the agreement and protocol were signed by Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Myrteza Sinoimeri, and on Bulgarian by Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Marin Marinov. The signing ceremony was attended by the members of the two delegations and the Bulgarian interim in the embassy in Tirana Nikola Nikolov. During their stay in the country the delegation was received by Minister of Foreign Trade Nedin Hoxha.

LEADERS GREET LAO COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU011711 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee; Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; and Mehmet Shehu, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have sent the following telegram to Kaysone Phomvihan, Central Committee general secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos and prime minister of the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic; and to Souphanouvong, president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic:

On the occasion of your national holiday, the fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, on behalf of the Albanian people, the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and ourselves, we send you and the Lao people warm greetings and best wishes. The Albanian people, who have sympathetically followed the progress achieved by the Lao people in the construction of the country, wish them even greater sucesses on the road of development and also in defense of the homeland against the plots and interventions of the imperialist powers. We wish the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two people's and countries will continually develop.

LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS RECEIVED

Cuban Telegram

AU022055 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Mehmet Shehu, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have received a telegram from Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the State Council and Government of the Republic of Cuba. It states: On the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the liberation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, I have the pleasure to send you our greetings on behalf of the people and Government of the Republic of Cuba. On this meaningful day, we send you our best greetings for the well-being, happiness and prosperity of the Albanian people.

Mongolian Telegram

AU021805 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] The Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have received the following telegram from the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic: On the occasion of the national holiday of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, on behalf of the Mongolian people, we express sincere greetings and best wishes for the prosperity of the Albanian people.

PREMIER TODOROV RETURNS FROM PDRY 2 DECEMBER

AU021650 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] On 2 December Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, returned from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY]. At the invitation of 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Yemen, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council and chairman of the PDRY Council of Ministers, Comrade Stanko Todorov paid an official and friendly visit to the PDRY. At Sofia airport, Comrade Stanko Todorov was greeted by Comrades Todor Bozhinov; Drazha Vulcheva; Grigor Stoichkov and Stamen Stamenov, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; ministers and other officials.

Aden Reportage

For Aden reportage on the visit of Stanko Todorov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, to the PDRY and his meetings with PDRY Chairman 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, see the Arabian Peninsula section of the Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT for 2 and 3 December.

SYRIAN BA'TH DELEGATION CONTINUES MEETINGS, TALKS

AU021412 Sofia BTA in English 1342 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Sofia, 2 Dec (BTA)--Today the visiting here delegation of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of Syria, led by Mr 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, deputy secretary general of the party, met in succession Mr Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front and member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, and Mr Misho Mishev, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and secretary of the CC of the BCP.

At both meetings were underlined the good contacts maintained by Bulgaria and Syria on all levels. Discussed were questions of cooperation between the Fatherland Front and the National Progressive Front of Syria, as well as between the trade unions of the two countries. Expressed was bilateral wish to expand contacts between the public organizations of the two countries.

In the afternoon the Syrian delegation is expected to be received by Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council.

Meeting With Zhivkov

AU021942 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Sofia, 2 Dec (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, received here visiting Syrian delegation of the Arab Socialist Renaissance (Ba'th) Party headed by Mr 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, deputy secretary general of the party.

Mr 'Abdallah al-Ahmar extended a verbal message to the Bulgarian leader from Mr Hafiz al-Asad.

Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed satisfaction with the constantly expanding ties of cooperation between the two parties and said that they opened up new prospects for the further deepening of all-round Bulgaro-Syrian relations.

For his part the deputy secretary general of the Ba'th Party stressed the readiness of both both the party and Syria to continue to work for the constant expansion and strengthening of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two friendly states and parties.

During the talks, which passed off in a warm and friendly atmosphere, topical issues of the international situation, especially the situation in the Middle East, have been discussed.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY LILOV IN SFRY

AU022056 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] At the invitation of the leadership of the LCY Central Committee, Aleksandur Lilov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, accompanied by his wife, arrived today in the SFRY on vacation.

SFRY AMBASSADOR GIVES RECEPTION ON NATIONAL DAY

AU021648 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Nov 80 p 2

[Text] Danilo Puric, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFRY to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, gave a reception last night on the occasion of his country's national holiday--the anniversary of the proclamation of the republic.

The reception, held at the embassy, was attened by Comrade Petur Mladenov, Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council, members of the State Council, ministers, deputy chairmen of the National Assembly and heads of sociopolitical and mass organizations, deputy heads of the BCP Central Committee departments, deputy ministers, scientists and cultural figures.

Chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited in our country were also among those present.

The reception proceeded in a friendly atmosphere.

ALBANIAN EMBASSY RECEPTION ON NATIONAL HOLIDAY

AU021644 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Nov 80 p 2

[Text] Shaqir Vucaj, charge d'affaires ad interim of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to Bulgaria, gave a reception at the embassy last night on the occasion of his country's national holiday.

The reception, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by Marin Yotov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Georgi Vutev, deputy minister of foreign trade and by high-ranking officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia were also among those present.

SOFIA LIVE RELAY ON CULTURE MINISTERS CONFERENCE

AU020857 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0815 GMT on 2 December 1980 carries a live relay of the opening of an International Conference of Ministers of Culture, devoted to the subject "The Role of Culture in the Development of Human Society." At 0815 GMT the live relay begins from the Sofia Vitosha Hotel.

Correspondent Ileana Konstantinova announces the presence of 17 ministers and 19 deputy ministers as well as outstanding scholars and cultural figures from 55 countries of the world. Because of the heavy snowfall and poor weather conditions some of the delegation's planes had to land at Varna airport. Those delegates will join the afternoon session. Konstantinova reports the presence of Lyudmila Zhivkova and of other leaders: "Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretart; heads of departments of the BCP Central Committee; chairmen of creative unions; and outstanding Bulgarian scholars and cultural figures, who will participate in the work of the meeting which is scheduled to take place from 2 to 6 December. "The reporter also mentions the arrival of numerous cultural figures from Bulgarian provinces who have arrived for the debates on contemporary culture and society. The reporter says the conference is significant because it was not convened at the initiative of an international organization, but at the initiative of one country, Bulgaria, whose international prestige is steadily growing. Konstantinova also points out that the conference is taking place at the same time as the Madrid meeting, which makes it a contribution to detente.

At 0820 GMT the floor is given to Milcho Hermanov, first deputy chairman of the Committee for Culture, who greets the delegates and speaks on the significance of culture in all countries and on the necessity of convening such a meeting. "Cultural relations among countries intensify mutual trust and enrich the intellectual wealth of each nation," he states. Some nations have great cultural experience, while young nations are achieving their first successes and such exchange of experience seems very useful, the speaker adds.

The announcer then reports that the work of the conference continues in three roundtable discussions and Sofia radio will regularly report on the progress of the session.

The live relay closes at 0825 GMT.

FOREIGN CURRENCY INSTRUCTION ON SALE OF GOODS

AU282110 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] The Council of Ministers has adopted an instruction on improving the sales of goods in exchange for foreign currency.

As of 1 January 1981 the sale of goods to Bulgarian citizens in the foreign currency shops of the country will be carried out in exchange for certificates (bonove) and checks supplied by the Bulgarian National Bank on the basis of the law on foreign currency.

The regulations on sales of goods to foreign citizens remain unchanged.

BRIEFS

HUNGARIAN MSZMP DELEGATION--Comrade Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, received a visiting working group of the MSZMP Central Committee, headed by Sandor Boros, deputy head of the MSZMP Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 28 Nov 80 AU]

VAPTSAROV DEATH--Boris Vaptsarov, National Assembly deputy, died today after a short illness. He was an active member of the antifascist youth movement and participated in building socialism in Bulgaria, after the revolution victory. The funeral of Boris Vaptsarov will be held on 1 December 1980 after his lying in state at the Central Club of Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism, where the working people will be able to pay their respects to his memory. The funeral will take place at Sofia cemetery at 1600 local time. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 28 Nov 80 AU]

TEXT OF ARTICLE ON DESTABILIZATION IN POLAND

AU021251 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Nov 80 p 3

[Pavel Auersperg article: "Thoughts About the 'Lessons'; 10th Anniversary of the CPCZ Central Committee Session of December 1979" capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE 10 YEARS THAT WILL HAVE PASSED SINCE THE CPCZ CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION OF DECEMBER 1970, WHICH APPROVED THE DOCUMENT OF PRINCIPLES "LESSONS DRAWN FROM THE CRISIS DEVELOPMENT IN THE PARTY AND IN SOCIETY AFTER THE 13TH CPCZ CONGRESS," HAVE FULLY DEMOSTRATED ITS L A S T I N G T O P I C A L I T Y [previous two words printed in widespace] IN THE CONTINUING CLASS CONFRONTATION OF THE CAPITALIST AND SOCIALIST WORLD. THEY HAVE ALSO CONFIRMED THE DOCUMENT'S PERMANENT, LONG-TERM SIGNIFICANCE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DIAGNOSING THE SOURCES, METHODS AND OBJECTIVES OF CONTEMPORARY IMPERIALISM'S CLASS STRATEGY IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REAL SOCIALISM.

The "Lessons," with conclusive veracity, expose that strategy in a new historical situation, when socialism operates and develops as a world socialist system, forcing imperialism to reassess the unrealistic schemes of J.F. Dulles from the cold war era. The doctrine at the very heart of those schemes--the doctrine of external pressure by force in the form of atomic blackmail and threats of external aggression designed to instigate and bring to the fore the old forces of classical counterrevolution against the socialist system--suffered a complete failure. It had set far-reaching goals for itself but failed to fulfill the planned role of a bridge toward the so-called internal "liberation" of socialist countries from socialism, a role which it could not fulfill by dint of the growth of international socialism's all-round strength.

The Course of the External and Internal Enemies of Socialism

The "Lesson" contain an exact analysis of the application of the reassessed strategy of imperialism, in which the prime role was given to the instigation and gradual development of the processes of petit bourgeois counterrevolution. They present a graphic portrayal of the course taken by the external and internal enemies of socialism, and show how that antisocialist onslaught took shape and was masked by the demagogic and enticing demands of "petit bourgeois democracy." They present an objective analysis of how the necessary even though socially diverse, background for dismantling socialism was being prepared in a situation when--for various objective and subjective causes--the development of socialism in our country was undergoing a complicated, critical period.

The conceptual efforts of imperialism to transplant the processes of petit bourgeois counterrevolution into the state, social and intellectual organism of the socialist countries, reckon with every centrifugal tendency within the socialist social system--and our "Lessons" furnish a conclusive testimony to that. They include in their calculations the class instability of petit bourgeois strata marked by group or individual egotism and their disposition to nationalistic conceit, as well as the elitist eccentricity and power ambitions of frustrated little groups and individuals.

AN EXTRAORDINARY PART IN THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE IN OUR COUNTRY IN 1968 WAS PLAYED BY THAT CLASS AND POLITICAL IMMATURITY OF SOME LEADING PARTY OFFICIALS WHO RETREATED, OUT OF LACK OF PRINCIPLE AND, FOR THE SAKE OF THEIR TURGIDLY CULTIVATED PERSONAL POPULARITY, FROM CLASS AND INTERNATIONALIST POSITIONS. Those and other internal dispositions of petit bourgeois rebellion became in our country, toward the end of the sixities--after the leadership of the ruling Communist Party failed to solve the accummulated problems in good time and conceptually, and even permitted the emergence of political and social tension--a risk factor.

The pre-January [1968] stagnation and the post-January lack of resolution and concepts on the part of the Dubcek leadership created a fertile soil for the emergence of a wave of unrestrained elitist conduct [zivelnost], which was programmed and manipulated by internal and external antisocialist forces. Such is the logic of every counterrevolution and of its petit bourgeois variety in particular--first it opens the flood-gates to unrestrained conduct, gives a wide scope to uncontrollable emotions, passions and instincts and, in the end, directs them into a common antisocialist riverbed corresponding fully with the interests of imperialism and other segments of world reaction.

The slogans and proclaimed goals of petit bourgeois democracy, veiled by the cloak of "better" and "more perfect socialism," have at present a very carefully worked out "popular" form obscuring the final intention--the disintegration and destruction of socialist power from within. What is involved, at first sight, is not a sharply and hatefully tuned anticommunist breach but only some sort of a slight shift identified with the needs of a "reform" or "revival" of socialism.

When in 1921 Lenin exposed the background of the so-called Kronstadt Rebellion he drew attention to the fact, displaying a farsightedness that was typical of him, that it was intended to appear merely as a "transition of political power from the hands of Bolsheviks to some sort of an incoherent conglomerate or bloc of diverse elements, SEEMINGLY ONLY SLIGHTLY MORE TO THE RIGHT BUT POSSIBLY EVEN MORE TO THE LEFT THAN THE BOLSHEVIKS." In reality, however, it was an act plotted by counterrevolutionary forces with the aim of "making that movement lead into a petit bourgeois counterrevolution, into an emergence of petit bourgeois anarchist elements," with whose hands the White Guards wanted to throttle Soviet power.

THROUGHOUT THE HISTORICAL PERIOD OF CLASS CONFRONTATION OF SOCIALISM AND IMPERIALISM, IMPERIALISM HAS NOT GIVEN UP ITS STAKE ON A PETIT BOURGEOIS COUNTERREVOLUTION. Imperialist centers are devoting systematic attention and interest to that option and even the well-known Z. Brzezinski founded his stardom on it.

In the course of the last 30 years imperialism has tried to test in practice various versions of that counterrevolutionary path, relying on diverse mainstays in asserting its antisocialist intentions. In 1956 the main actors of the attempted antisocialist overthrow in Hungary were professional counterrevolutionaries like Cardinal Mindszenty and Anna Ketly, who had been waging a persistent struggle against revolution and socialism even under Horthy's regime. Their supporters in Budapest consisted of petit bourgeois elements affected by contagious nationalism, petit bourgeois intelligentsia, the formerly privileged bureaucracy, some workers who were immature in class matters, especially the former worker aristocarcy that never became one with socialism, and students made radical by nationalistic demagogy.

THE OPEN COUNTERREVOLUTION WAS THUS BACKED CHIEFLY BY THE PETIT BOURGEOIS ENVIRONMENT, DECLASSED ELEMENTS AND A CERTAIN NUMBER OF MISLED AND DECEIVED WORKERS. Even some communists drifted into its hold, who--like J. Nagy, to give an example--retreated out of lack of principle, being in the grip of their various personal and revisionist complexes, for such a long time in the face of the class enemy that they possibly failed to notice their own transition from the revolutionary side to the counterrevolutionary side of the barricade, and finally turned into direct protagonists and active symbols of classical counterrevolution.

Our Experience With Counterrevolution

Our "Lessons" summarize the experience and findings from the altered type of petit bourgeois counterrevolution, which put its main hopes into rightist opportunist forces in the party's Central Committee and was developed from the top, directly from the center. Its representatives absorbed into their minds and political standpoints a medly of miscellaneous revisionist, reformist and antisocialist elitist currents in the West, which emerged parallel with, as well as on the margin, of the then officially cultivated ideology of so-called people's capitalism.

From that mixture of foreign ingredients a WOULD-BE "ORIGINAL" CONCOCTION OF SO-CALLED CZECHOSLOVAK REVIVAL WAS MADE, WHICH AT THE SAME TIME DUSTED OFF ILLUSIONS AND FANTASIES ABOUT BENES' BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN THE PRE-MUNICH PERIOD, AND HARPED ON THE CHORD OF THE SO-CALLED CZECH MAN IN THE STREET. The emigre Liehm, one of the dark figures of the "Prague spring," admitted 2 years ago that even the concept of "socialism with a human face" did not have its origin in their own ideas but came about upon inspiration from "Western friends." They discerned very well that the initiated disintegration of socialism must have a deceptive and disorienting yet emotionally attractive cloak. They promptly delivered that camouflage item on the so-called human face of socialism, and literally inculcated it in those members of the party leadership of that time most unstable from a class and internationalist viewpoint.

Those people displayed an extreme inability to implement the conclusions of the January [1968] CPCZ Central Committee session in a Marxist-Leninist spirit. At the very beginning they permitted the petit bourgeois elements who seized control of information media to interpret these conclusions first in a distorted and later in a destructive antisocialist manner, and to crown them, in return for that concession, as the heroes and "men of January" 1968.

Against that background the incredible paradox emerged that Alexandr Dubcek and his associates aided, in the name of reviving socialism, the gradual disintegration of the revolutionary achievements of socialism, were reconciled with the weakening and violations of the CSSR's and the CPCZ's internationalist bonds and stood passively by as the Communist Party's class character was being weakened and the socialist state's bodies of power were being paralyzed. THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PARTY REMAINED LOYAL AND DEDICATED TO THE IDEAS OF MARXISM-LENINISM, PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND BONDS OF ALLIANCE WITH THE USSR. HOWEVER, IT WAS UNABLE TO ACT AND, DUE TO THE OPPORTUNIST IMPOTENCE THAT HAD TAKEN ROOT IN THE TOP PARTY LEADERSHIP, WAS NOT MOBILIZED TO LAUNCH A COUNTEROFFENSIVE. A rousing truth was expressed by the secretary general of the Central Committee of the U.S. Communist Party when he wrote at the beginning of the summer of 1968 that "the leadership did not stop talking about the Czechoslovak people's faithfulness to socialism. I am convinced that it was right. There was faithfulness to socialism. But a faithfulness without a leadership and a faithfulness that is not organized to wage a struggle against antisocialist elements does not provide any guarantee that socialism will be defended. Faithfulness is, after all, merely a sentiment--it must be organized and mobilized to become a political force." Nevertheless, those members of the CPCZ leadership who succumbed to rightwing opportunism disregarded the valuable advice given by our closest socialist friends and, instead of honoring the binding promises which they were declaring of their own will, preferred colluding and, later, coalescing with elitist, essentially antisocialist forces, the disruptive activities of which were escalating and in the summer of 1968 grew into an active threat of a counterrevolutionary reversal.

The Missed Opportunities To Defend Socialism

Under that extremely dangerous situation, there were enough domestic forces to defend the revolutionary gains of socialism. The legitimate question why that opportunity was not made use of was answered unequivocally by Comrade Gustav Husak at the international consultation of representatives of communist and workers parties in Moscow in 1969:

"We know from Leninist experience," he declared, "how important a principled, purposeful and resolute leadership of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the workers class is in critical situations. In critical moments it constitutes the decisive factor. After January 1968 there was no unity in the CPCZ leadership, neither as to the assessment of the situation nor as to the program, prospects and goals; there was even less unity when it came to specific essential measures. [paragraph continues]

"Naivete and political romanticism, cheap gestures and slogans lacking a class foundation on freedom, democracy, humanism and the 'will of the people' prevailed. One forgot in the grip of excitement over 'freedom' and cheap popularity the class roots and motives of social conflicts and goals, the activities of the class enemy, the influence of his ideology at home and abroad... one frequently attempted to solve through discussion things that ran counter to our valid socialist legal code and inevitably required the state power's action."

The Marxist-Leninist forces and forces devoted to socialism in the CPCZ Central Committee, the CPSL Central Committee, the CSSR Government, the National Assembly and the Slovak National Council turned to the party leadership many times in vain, demanding resolute steps. After all possibilities were exhausted, there was no other way than to turn to the USSR and the closest socialist allies with a request for internationalist aid that would bar the way of the counterrevolutionary avalanche and its unforeseeable international consequences. That requested fraternal assistance foiled the plans of petit bourgeois counterrevolution, which already saw itself in the victor's pose, and created the prerequisites necessary for developing and victoriously completing the political struggle. In the course of this we have returned to our party's Gottwaldian traditions and have restored all the certainties of socialism.

OUR "LESSONS" GIVE AN EXHAUSTIVE ANSWER TO ALL QUESTIONS CONCERNING HOW AND WHY SOCIALISM FOUND ITSELF IN SUCH A MORTAL DANGER IN OUR COUNTRY. THEY FURNISH NEW EVIDENCE SHOWING WHY THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S INTRINSIC TIES WITH THE WORKERS CLASS AND THE UNWAVERING OBSERVANCE OF GENERAL LENINIST LAWS IN BUILDING SOCIALISM AND OF LENINIST NORMS IN PARTY ACTIVITY PROVIDE THE MOST SECURE GUARANTEE OF A SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT AND THE VERY EXISTENCE OF SOCIALISM.

The lapse of time and the consolidation of socialist conditions following April 1969 have at the same time convincingly confirmed as utter lies assertions that the so-called Czechoslovak revival was some sort of a nationwide movement. Neither the socialist village nor the workers class, even though it was partly disoriented by the rightwing information media's post-August [1968] hysteria, backed the petit bourgeois counterrevolutionary experiment in the CSSR in the year 1968.

Even the French paper LE MONDE recently had to admit that "in 1968 there was a silent workers class in Czechoslovakia, one part of which followed with mistrust the reformers' experiments, with the other part waiting for the CPCZ Central Committee's and trade unions' initiative." The sober statement of that fact coming from the other side thus again confirms A. Dubcek's and his associates' ineradicable guilt for not wanting to make use of that class and action potential of the party's healthy majority, for failing to mobilize it in good time and effectively against the counterrevolutionary disaster.

Those representatives fell through and failed because they made the term "January 1968" the hallmark of an opportunist alliance with a petit bourgeois counterrevolutionary elite striving to bring about a disintegration and destruction of socialism in our country. Only the halting of the counterrevolutionary onslaught as a result of the internationalist assistance and the principled Leninist policy pursued after Comrade Gustav Husak's coming to party leadership in April 1969 MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR THOSE INTENTIONS OF THE JANUARY 1968 PROGRAM THAT FOLLOWED THE ROAD OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM TO BE APPLIED AND FIND THEIR PLACE IN THE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF THE 14TH AND 15TH CPCZ CONGRESSES, IN THE PROGRAM OF BUILDING AN ADVANCED SOCIALIST SOCIETY. That program is being purposefully implemented year after year.

Imperialism Is Making Its Tactical Intentions More Precise

Imperialism, too, has drawn its lesson from our Czechoslovak lessons. Even though it continues to reckon with petit bourgeois counterrevolution in its strategic plans, it is making its tactical approaches more precise and is guided by the principle that the end justifies the means. [paragraph continues]

In that respect it cast away all prejudice and did not, for instance, let itself be deceived at all by the monstrous phraseology of the so-called Great Cultural Revolution in Maoist China, because it very flexibly discerned that the so-called Great Cultural Revolution's petit bourgeois counterrevolutionary substance and nature. It has also properly appraised the long-term advantages for its strategic intentions, irrespective of whether Mao Zedong is alive or not.

The present reassessment of that Maoist large-scale operation, which did not have anything in common with either revolution or culture and thrust the development in China far back into the past, also comes in very handy to imperialism. It views the contribution and the advantage for itself in the fact that the Cultural Revolution's petit bourgeois counterrevolutionary thrust has been gradually transformed into the present antirevolutionary, anti-Soviet course pursued by Chinese hegemonist policy, which forms, in alliance with U.S. imperialism, a dangerous aggressive bloc that poses a serious threat to peace, security and the struggle for social progress in the world.

The striking leniency of the well-known figures of the so-called Prague spring toward the barbarous acts of the Cultural Revolution, which culminated precisely in the year 1968 and jolted the conscience of all cultured people, was also not accidental. That anarchist vandalism was passed over with supercilious reticence or even commented on appreciatively in LITERARNI LISTY, which claimed that it was, in fact, "a spontaneous immediate democracy of people's masses that are tearing down bureaucratic obstacles."

THE CRUEL AND ANTIHUMAN NATURE OF THAT PETIT BOURGEOIS-PLEBEIAN ULTRARADICAL REBELLION AGAINST THE LENINIST CONCEPT OF SOCIALISM, INSPIRED AND GUIDED BY MAO ZEDONG, WAS IN FACT IMMENSELY HANDY TO THE CZECHOSLOVAK "REVIVALISTS." IT WAS, AFTER ALL, THE REVERSE SIDE OF THE SELFSAME ANTISOCIALIST AND ANTI-SOVIET FACE, REPRESENTED IN PRAGUE BY THE PROGRAMMERS OF "LIBERALIZATION" AND "DEMOCRATIZATION." Even the Maoist slogans "Shoot at the staffs!" found its response and a parallel at the time of the so-called Prague spring. Let us recall the scandalization of honest communists and various pressure actions of the mob as well as the very similar methods applied by the Prague and Beijing information media. The fact that the emigre Pelikan is nowadays being received in Beijing as a truthworthy expert and adviser for establishing contacts with currents of rightwing reformist opportunism is also absolutely comprehensible and visible testimony to how apparent antipodes meet at the joint platform of petit bourgeois counterrevolution.

Similarly facts will certainly come to light one day on the unpropitious inspiration role played by Z. Brzezinski in drafting Carter's strategy opposing relaxation of international tension in 1980. He can be described today as the mastermind of the programmatic impulses linked with the petit bourgeois counterrevolution in the CSSR in 1968 and with the lessons drawn by the imperialists from its failure. We know what he was talking about in Prague on 14 June 1968 when he based his "liberalization" concept on the idea that "under conditions of an advanced society Leninism is obsolete." He advocated at that time a well-considered combined pressure on the leading role of the party and the state's power bodies, linked with gradual restoration of the pluralist structures of so-called civic society. At the same time he warned, however, against the mania of impatiently escalating demands for a revision of the foreign political line, to which the stage managers of the Czechoslovak revival succumbed in their smugness and conceit.

Emphasis on the Creeping Nature of the Struggle Against Socialism

Some 12 years later, in observing how the imperialist anticommunist centers have modified and by which experiences they have enriched the platform and arsenal of petit bourgeois counterrevolution, we discern some additional tactical shifts. In the event of critical tension they now place even more emphasis on the creeping, toned-down and non-provocative character of the destabilization process. [paragraph continues]

THEY CAREFULLY AVOID, ABOVE ALL--BEFORE THE TIME IS RIPE--ANY DIRECT CASTING OF DOUBT ON THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE, IMMEDIATE ATTACKS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL BODIES OF THE SOCIALIST STATE OR SPECIFICALLY TARGETED ATTACKS ON ITS INTERNATIONAL BONDS OF ALLIANCE.

Following the experience acquired in Czechoslovakia, where the weaknesses of stage management in preparing long-term destruction only from above became apparent and also because an opportunity once missed makes repetition rather difficult, ways are being sought to disrupt the structure of socialist power so to say from below, via facti--everywhere that a rift becomes apparent, a void in implementing socialist policy, or where one responds belatedly to accumulated difficulties or postpones the elimination of the causes of the working people's justified dissatisfaction.

The latest developments in fraternal Poland prove by already well-known facts that in the difficult situation of crisis there, efforts of internal and foreign hostile forces concentrate on asserting a tricky intention--to trigger and escalate antisocialist aggressive trade unionism. Tendencies are asserted to deliberately ignore responsibility for continuous and growing development of production in restoring the trade unions' activation and to direct it toward political confrontation with the party and the socialist state, toward excessive assertion of wage claims and disorganization of production and supplies.

In ensuring further socialist development the Polish communists are drawing an exact dividing line between the search for and assertion of socialist solutions, efforts to solve the present complicated problems on the basis of socialist principles, and those attempts which, under the slogan of "renewal" and overcoming "deformations," are striving for nothing else but to exhaust and paralyze socialist power and establish wilfully or intentionally elements of petit bourgeois counterrevolution.

The statements of principle by Polish communists about the existence of a firm borderline that cannot be exceeded must be correctly understood everywhere--the socialist patriotic forces of Poland will do everything vitally essential to defend and strengthen the revolutionary gains of the 35-year socialist development of their homeland.

They Are Playing With the Petit Bourgeois Card

Another characteristic feature becomes conspicuous when we observe the postwar development--in situations in which U.S. imperialism suffered setbacks in enforcing its hegemonist plans, it usually always uses its card with petit bourgeois counterrevolution. Toward the end of the sixties imperialist policy was undergoing a crisis: U.S. imperialism's entanglement in the dirty war in Vietnam, France's departure from the NATO military organization and the wavering of the Benelux and Scandinavian countries were giving rise to justified anxiety over NATO's prospects after 1969, when the treaty was to expire.

The programmed, so-called Czechoslovak crisis was designed, according to the plans of militant NATO forces, to become a shot in the arm to preserve and keep intact that class-military bloc of imperialism. Moreover, it was envisaged that--should a breakthrough in Czechoslovakia come about and should the existing correlation of international forces be thus upset--new opportunities and scope would be opened for NATO's further expansionist aggressive plans.

However, the NATO planners miscalculated. The absolute failure of the attempt to separate the CSSR from the world socialist system, which at the same time demonstrated the strength of the international solidarity of socialism, had the effect of a shock and a cold shower on the hotheads in NATO. Quite to the contrary, a scope of a different kind was created--for launching the process of international detente, which in the seventies resulted in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and evoked justified hopes in a lasting, peaceful future of the European Continent.

Some present attempts of imperialism to exacerbate in a destructive direction the complicated developments in Poland are also taking place in an extraordinary international situation. THE ENHANCED AGGRESSIVE COURSE OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT BY FAR YIELDED THE RESULTS EXPECTED BY ITS MAKERS. HOWEVER, IN 1980 AN ACUTE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE WAS BEGUN ANEW BETWEEN ADVOCATES OF PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL DETENTE AND ADVOCATES OF ANOTHER FEVERISH ARMS RACE, WHO ARE AT THE SAME TIME KINDLING A COLD WAR AND PLAYING WITH THE RISK OF A REAL WAR.

If the strategists of imperialism in the West assume that a suitable time has come now to try anew the scheme of petit bourgeois counterrevolution in any socialist country, they will finally be left with disappointment and disillusion again. They deserve a timely warning not to succumb to a futile temptation and sober advice to keep both feet on the ground.

The present, essentially balanced, correlation of world forces is unchangeable and irreversible; the dynamic force of world socialism is deeply rooted in its concept of peace, security and social progress of peoples. The hopes and plans of the most aggressive forces of international imperialism that they could turn to their advantage the situation in the world by pursuing an escalated policy of strength and extortion, regain and restore their lost superiority or upset the security balance in international relations lack firm grounds.

The international solidarity of socialism represents an invincible force and a guarantee that the policy of international detente will pass the difficult tests to which it is exposed by the aggressive forces of world imperialism and that the positions of socialism in the world and in each country of the socialist community will remain firm and inviolable. Thoughts about the "Lessons Drawn From the Critical Development in the Party and in Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress," the veracity of which was tested and corroborated by the time that has passed since the document's adoption, imbue us with that certainty and unbreakable conviction.

KANIA REMARKS AT POLISH PARTY PLENUM REPORTED

LD021440 Prague CTK in English 1115 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Dec (CTK)--"The political crisis continues, there is destabilization of our economy and the state, the future of the nation is being decided," First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Stanislaw Kania said at a session of its Central Committee last night.

"Deep concern is aroused by attempts to demand changes in regional, state and political bodies of power and in the management of some enterprises by threats of strikes or even occupation of official premises and buildings. A number of actions take place in an atmosphere of ultimatums, inadmissible pressure and lack of consideration towards the authorities and co-workers. All this shows that certain people and organizations of Solidarity are exceeding the competence of the trade union as defined in its statutes. This constitutes violation of the law and arrogating such powers which can be exercised solely by the state. There cannot be a dual government in no state, also not in ours."

Stanislaw Kania said that Solidarity had been infiltrated by groups and persons who have contacts with the centres of imperialist subversion abroad, and which follow aims hostile to socialism and the people's government.

The enemies of socialism have tactically joined the workers, and this is to serve them as a springboard for another stage. Their road, however, is not the road of the working class. Their aim is to dismantle and overthrow Poland's socialist statehood. It is basically an anti-labour, counterrevolutionary aim.

"It is the highest time to sober up, to realize that the fundamental prerequisite of the nation's future is the immediate cessation of activities which imperil and weaken the functioning of the people's state, and which, moreover, threaten to destablize by their consequences the peaceful arrangement in Europe. We are working with great patience and judiciously, but no one can expect our party and people's power to exhibit hesitancy and tolerance in the defence of socialism. The defence of socialism is the defence of the highest national values, the defence of Poland's interests".

"Turning correct criticism of mistakes into negation and rejection of the real results of the past, the results achieved by the party and the whole nation, cannot be permitted. The leading role of the Polish United Workers Party is the main principle of our system, independence, security and peaceful development of our homeland", Stanislaw Kania stressed.

"We have been in continuous contact with our friends and allies, mainly with the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party", he said.

"We understand well the concern and fears aroused by the developments in Poland among the fraternal parties. We are, after all, an important part of the socialist community. We are grateful particularly to the Soviet comrades for understanding the character of our difficulties and for their conviction that we shall find a way out of the crisis, which would be favourable for socialism in Poland and for the whole community", Stanislaw Kania said.

Vanke on Remarks

LD022026 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 2 Dec 80

[From the "Topics of the Day" program]

[Text] We begin with a short comment in which Radio Prague's Radek Vanke considers yesterday's speech by the first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, Stanislaw Kania, to the seventh meeting of the party's Central Committee:

Special importance is being attached to the seventh meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. The Polish communists are determined to solve the difficult and complicated situation in the country and reintroduce calm and conditions for the development of the economy in Poland. These very questions were debated at the Central Committee meeting, and also Stanislaw Kania dealt with them. He emphasized that the party and state leadership had taken a number of measures to anticipate a worsening of the situation on the market. The accentuation of the importance of such a step is understandable, for the Polish economy in the second half of the year has been fulfilling its tasks only by some 50 percent as compared with the plan and it is therefore clear that the Polish economy itself cannot meet the needs of the population in Poland.

Of special importance is therefore economic aid from the Soviet Union which in the near future will supply Poland with raw materials, fuels, (?metals) and food and grant it hard currency loans amounting to a total of $1.3 billion. Also, other socialist countries are helping Poland and the Polish leadership is also having talks with some capitalist countries. It is, however, impossible to live on credit and that is why an economic reform is being speedily prepared. In this context Stanislaw Kania said that under preparation are, for example, the principles of a new agricultural policy designed to activate and increase farm production. The basic conditions for the realization of economic and social changes in Poland is, however, the unification of the Polish people on a socialist platform. It is therefore necessary to get Polish society out of the crisis.

It is necessary to strengthen the positions of socialism in the country. Here, Stanislaw Kania said that the process of reconstruction is hampered by many difficulties. The broad strata of society hopes that the registration of the new trade unions would lessen tension. We hoped and are still hoping that an atmosphere of negotiations and agreements will make it possible to work out rational methods of collaboration and mutual cooperation.

Unfortunately, a number of districts and departments (of) organizations of the so-called new trade union Solidarity are creating an atmosphere of strikes and resorting to threats of strikes. Deep concern is caused by attempts to exert pressure by threatened strikes or even by occupation of official premises and buildings, by changes in regional, state and political organs and in the management of some enterprises, said Stanislaw Kania. This proved that some people and organizations of Solidarity go beyond the competence of the trade union as formulated in its statutes. (?Yes), some people (?disguised) by slogans about free trade unions are misusing the Polish working class for antisocialist aims. As the first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party put it. They are interested in dismantling and overthrowing the socialist statehood of Poland. That is why it is necessary immediately to curb the activity of forces which threaten socialism in Poland. The defense of socialism is the defense of the highest national values, the defense of Poland's interests. We well understand the concern and apprehension with which fraternal parties are following developments in Poland. We are thankful in particular to Soviet comrades for their understanding of the nature of our difficulties and for their conviction that we will find such a way out of the crisis which will benefit socialism in Poland and the whole socialist community, said Stanislaw Kania.

BRZEZINSKI ASKS POLES 'PROVOCATIVE' QUESTIONS

LD022024 Prague CTK in English 1752 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Dec (CTK)--The U.S. President's national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and a number of other officials of the Carter administration have recently met with several Polish would-be politicians, it has become known in Warsaw.

During the meeting, Brzezinski asked provocative questions and in essence called on "Polish opposition" to "put up armed resistance". Another statement at the meeting was that Poland and its economy are "in a stadium of anarchy". They spoke about terms under which Poland would be granted credits, including Poland's entry into the International Monetary Fund and introduction of U.S. supervision of Polish economy.

FRG 'EXILES' GREET POLISH UNION SOLIDARITY

LD022000 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Excerpts] An organization calling itself "Union of European Journalists in Exile" is at present holding its congress in Munich, West Germany. Here is our Bonn correspondent, Frantisek Vonderka, to tell us what is hidden behind this name:

Under normal circumstances its deliberations would not even deserve a mention. The participants at the congress are people who, in the pay of anticommunist centers, spread venom against the socialist system in the countries of their birth, either in publications, with abundant spelling mistakes, or, with a foreign accent in their mother tongue, on the radio. They include not only mercenaries but also former SS members and Gestapo informers who escaped just punishment in their own countries. They now pose as freedom fighters, but in their mind the word freedom is tantamount to the concept of hatred of socialism.

But the participants at the Munich congress were not slow in sending a telegram of greeting to the leadership of the so-called independent Polish trade union, Solidarity, in which they convey admiration to that organization and sympathize with its activity. Yet the congress participants are certainly not referring to a kind of activity that would lead to the consolidation of socialism in Poland. These firebrands cannot stand socialism. They would like to fight it with all means at their disposal. For the moment they are doing this verbally, in various lampoons and in the broadcasts of CIA radio stations Free Europe and Liberty.

HUSAK GREETS LLESHI ON ALBANIAN NATIONAL DAY

LD282106 Prague CTK in English 1753 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] Prague, 27 Nov (CTK)--Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak sent today a congratulatory telegram to Haxhi Lleshi, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of Albania, on the occasion of the country's liberation day.

REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF SRV DEPUTY PREMIER GIAP

Cooperation Agreements

OW291657 Hanoi VNA in English 1636 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Excerpt] Hanoi, 29 Nov, VNA--The fifth meeting of the Vietnam-Czechoslovakia Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation ended in Prague on November 27.

Vice Premier General Vo Nguyen Giap, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, and Rudolf Rohlicek, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee and vice president of the Council of Ministers, heads of their respective delegations, signed the minutes on the results of the talks.

The two sides undertake to implement the clauses of the agreements aimed at expanding further cooperation in the supply of complete equipment, light industries, pharmaceuticals, electronics, engineering and other areas.

Vietnamese Minister of Labour Nguyen Tho Chan and Czechoslovak Minister of Labour and Social Welfare M. Stancel signed the agreement on long-term labour cooperation between the two countries and a protocol on labour cooperation for 1981.

Vietnamese Vice Minister of Engineering and Metallurgy Do Dai Loc and Czechoslovak Vice Minister of General Engineering V. Hanus signed the agreement on cooperation in the production of metal cutting machines and instruments.

Giap TV Interview

BK020422 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0400 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Comrade Vo Nguyen Giap, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau, vice premier and chairman of the Vietnamese-Czechoslovak Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, recently answered a number of questions in an interview given to Czechoslovak television.

On the outcome of the recent meeting of the joint Vietnamese-Czechoslovak Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation and on the future of cooperation between the two countries, Vice Premier Vo Nguyen Giap said: This committee achieved good results at its recent meeting.

The newly signed documents mark a new step forward in the promotion of great and full-scale cooperation between the two countries and are consistent with the general guidelines set forth in the talks between the Vietnamese party and government delegation led by Comrade Le Duan and the Czechoslovak party and government delegation led by Comrade Gustav Husak. These guidelines involve the sensible integration of the capabilities of a socialist country with high industrial and technical standards in the arctic zone [as heard] with the potentials of a socialist country which is in its initial stage of building socialism in the topical zone and which has a large reserve labor force and rich natural resources. The guidelines are aimed at achieving a sensible division of international labor with the most economic results for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries within the framework of multifaceted cooperation provided by CEMA.

Regarding his recent visits to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and other African nations, Vice Premier Vo Nguyen Giap said: The purpose of the visit by the Vietnamese party and government delegation to a number of fraternal countries in Africa was to promote peace and friendship. We are very happy with our visits. Everywhere we went, we were warmly welcomed and cordially received by the leaders and peoples of the countries concerned. In all the countries we visited our hosts expressed their deep appreciation of President Ho Chi Minh's great services and of the Vietnamese people's contributions.

'Ali Nasir Muhammad, party general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, said: The Vietnamese are a great and heroic people who have imbued other people with the confidence of inevitable victory. Didier Ratsiraka, president of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, said: For the Malagasy people, Vietnam is sacred. Samora Machel, chairman of the Frelimo Party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, said: The Vietnamese people's struggle has encouraged all peoples throughout the world.

The vice premier said: We are very grateful for this deep appreciation of the Vietnamese Communist Party and people.

He added: The Vietnamese revolution is a part of the world revolution. Every victory attained by the Vietnamese revolution is inseparable from the sympathy and strong support of the people of the world, of the Soviet Union--the land of great Lenin and the firm bulwark of peace and world revolution--and other fraternal socialist countries, national independent and nonaligned countries, and peace-loving and progressive forces around the world the Communist Party and the Government and people of Vietnam greatly appreciate their sympathy and support. We consider this support to be a factor determining our great victory.

On the current tense situation in the world, the vice premier--after denouncing international imperialism headed by the United States, international reactionary forces and the Beijing hegemonists for their attempts to undermine peace and threaten the independence and sovereignty of various nations--emphasized: These frenzied schemes do not prove their strength. Instead, they represent the decline of these forces. The basic characteristics of the actual world situation are the increasing strength of the three revolutionary currents--the socialist trend, the national independent and liberation movements, and the movements of the working people and the forces of peace and democracy.

Some people have likened the current situation with the situation of armed forces prior to World War II. This is incorrect, because today the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are unprecedentedly strong. The political and military situation of the countries in Indochina has changed completely and has been unprecedentedly encouraged. Africa of today, as we saw in our recent visit, has sprung up with a completely new face.

Similar developments have taken place in Latin America. The balance of power is obviously in our favor, but this does not mean that we underestimate the threat to international peace and security created by the imperialist and reactionary forces.

The peoples of the world must, more than ever before, strengthen the solidarity among the fraternal socialist countries, among the nations of the extensive nonaligned movement, among all forces of peace and democracy. They must heighten their vigilance so as to be ready to resolutely smash all adventurous acts of the imperialist and international reactionary forces and to firmly maintain national peace and security. The just cause for lasting peace and friendship among nations will surely win.

STROUGAL RECEIVES FRENCH OFFICIAL STIRN

LD021826 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received in Prague today Olivier Stirn, secretary of state to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who is in Czechoslovakia on the occasion of the fifth session of the Czechoslovak-French mixed commission for economic cooperation. The two representatives assessed the development of relations between their countries and stressed that the Czechoslovak and French Governments both have an interest in the all-round expansion of mutual cooperation. During their meeting Lubomir Strougal and Olivier Stirn also exchanged views on some international problems and questions.

HOFFMANN MEETS WITH PDRY WORKERS DELEGATION

LD022342 Prague CTK in English 1905 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Prague, 2 Dec (CTK)--Talks between a delegation of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions, led by its Chairman Karel Hoffmann, and a delegation of the General Confederation of Workers of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, led by its General Secretary Sultan ad-Dosh, were held here Tuesday.

Karel Hoffmann highly appreciated the present state of relations and cooperation between the two trade union organizations and expressed solidarity of Czechoslovak trade unionists with the effort of the Yemeni people for socialist development of their country. The Yemeni guests informed Czechoslovak trade union representatives of their present tasks.

An agreement on deepening cooperation between the two trade union federations was signed during the meeting.

LIBYAN SECTION OF CSSR INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOUNDED

LD022042 Prague CTK in English 1506 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Prague, 2 Dec (CTK)--A Libyan section of the Arab committee of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations was founded here Tuesday. The ceremony was attended by a delegation of the Society of Libyan-Czechoslovak Friendship which was founded in Tripoli in October.

The establishment of the two friendly organizations is another proof of mutual understanding between the people of the two countries, Evzen Erban, chairman of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations and chairman of the Czech National Council, stressed at the ceremony. The all-round and fruitful relations between Czechoslovakia and the Jamahiriyah in the political, economic, cultural and sport sphere can serve as an example of cooperation in international relations.

Evzen Erban expressed his hope that the Czechoslovak-Libyan cooperation will be strengthened and deepened.

Czech Minister of Building Karel Polak became chairman of the Libyan section of the Arab committee.

CPSL IDEOLOGICAL SEMINAR ORGANIZED IN CASTA

AU011907 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Nov 80 p 2

[Text] Casta (RO)--A 2-day Slovakia-wide seminar on the theme The Ideological Work of the Party and the Tasks of the Struggle Against Anticommunism, Anti-Sovietism and Ideological Diversion vis-a-vis the CSSR, began in Casta in the Bratislava environs district yesterday. The seminar has been organized by the CPSL Central Committee's department of propaganda and agitation for the lecturers of the CPSL central, regional and district committees and for selected party aktivs. The seminar was opened by J. Purgat, head of a CPSL Central Committee department. The main report--the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism and the topical tasks of the party's ideological work--was delivered by M. Matous, lecturer of the CPCZ Central Committee. Other lectures were oriented toward the application of the "Lessons From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress," party propaganda, exposing the methods of ideological activity of anticommunism in Czechoslovak conditions, as well as toward other topical tasks in the conditions of the current ideological struggle.

ECONOMIC, TRADE RESULTS FOR 10 MONTHS REPORTED

LD022359 Prague CTK in English 1716 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Prague, 2 Dec (CTK)-- In October, Czechoslovak industry overfulfilled the planned exports to socialist and non-socialist countries. Purchases of livestock products were also according to the plan.

In the first ten months of 1980, industrial production rose by 3.8 percent, while the plan assumed a growth of 3.5 per cent. Also productivity registered a faster growth rate than planned, but enterprises continued to fulfill their tasks unevenly.

Bad weather affected autumn work in agriculture. Beet was harvested from 84.4 per cent of the planned area, maize from 51.4 per cent, the potato harvest was nearing completion. Winter wheat sowing was two weeks late.

Purchases of pigs and cattle for slaughter were 11.8 per cent and 7.2 per cent higher than in the same month last year.

In the first ten months, 44,341 flats were completed, i.e. 52.8 percent of the 1980 plan. In capital construction, 74.6 per cent of the planned projects were completed by the end of October.

There were higher growth rates in exports and imports: Exports to socialist countries increased by 12.7 per cent, to non-socialist countries by 26.7 per cent. Imports from socialist countries were 8.3 per cent higher than in the same 10-month period last year, imports from non-socialist countries rose by 18.9 per cent.

BRIEFS

TREATY WITH AUSTRIA--Ratification documents on the treaty between the CSSR and the Austrian Republic on the protection of data on the origin, origin specification and other specifications of agricultural and industrial products, which was signed in Vienna on 11 June 1976, were exchanged this Tuesday in Prague between Dusan Spacil, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Dr Heinz Weinberger, ambassador of the Austrian Republic to the CSSR. The treaty will become valid on 26 February 1981. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Nov 80 p 2 AU]

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND REPORTS PAP ITEM ON POLISH SITUATION

AU021520 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Dec 80 p 2

[ADN dispatch: "PAP: Deep Concern About Situation in the Country"]

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)--In the past few days social organizations and various quarters of the population have addressed resolutions and decisions to the central organs that express deep uneasiness about the current situation in the country and concern about the further destiny of Poland, PAP reports. An example of this is the resolution of the independent, self-governing trade union of the glass industry workers, with headquarters in Jaworzno, addressed to the State Council 27 November. It is stressed there that the members of that trade union oppose anarchy. They want to work honestly and in peace.

In the resolution effective measures are requested to reduce tensions as well as necessary actions against those who have contributed to the present situation in the economy. The resolution objects to the escalation of demands and the calling of strikes.

STOPH ARRIVES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA FOR 'FRIENDLY VISIT'

LD021638 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, arrived on a friendly visit to Czechoslovakia today. He is accompanied by Gerhard Weiss, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the GDR, and others. The guests were welcomed at Ruzyne airport in Prague by Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal, who had invited the guests. The welcoming party also included Deputy Premiers Josef Korcak, Karol Laco, Matej Lucan, Rudolf Rohlicek, Jindrich Zahradnik, and other officials.

Talks Begin

LD021814 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1706 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Excerpt] Today Willi Stoph and Lubomir Strougal met for a discussion right after the guest's arrival in the Hrzan Palace not far from Prague Castle. They expressed their conviction that the friendship visit would further help consolidate the relations between the two socialist countries and thus strengthen the community of socialist states. The discussion centered on mutually interesting questions of bilateral and international cooperation.

SED'S HORST DOHLUS RECEIVES BCP DELEGATION

AU012122 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29-30 Nov 80 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received on Friday a delegation of the BCP Central Committee delegation for friendly talks. During its visit to the GDR the delegation, under the leadership of Mavrudi Mavrudiev, deputy head of the organization department of the BCP Central Committee, had studied experience in SED party work at the SED Central Committee and at leading party organs and basic organizations in Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk.

During the comradely meeting, Horst Dohlus briefed the Bulgarian guests about the comprehensive preparations for the 10th SED Congress. He stressed the great activity of the party organizations and the broad initiative movement of the working people for further strengthening the GDR.

CONTINUED REPORTAGE ON FISCHER VISIT TO AFRICA

Lagos Dinner Remarks

LD292018 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0554 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] Lagos, 20 Nov (ADN)--The foreign ministers of the GDR and Nigeria, in Lagos on Friday evening, have spoken out in favor of expanding further the friendly relations between the two states.

Nigeria's minister for external affairs, Ishaya Audu, said at a dinner given by him in honor of GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer that the guests' visit was the "welcome opportunity in order for both sides to look for further areas of cooperation, especially regarding trade as well as science and technology, which would be mutually beneficial."

In his reply Fischer paid tribute to Nigeria's work in the international arena and expressed his satisfaction about developing bilateral cooperation between the two countries.

Meeting With Benin Officials

LD022036 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1728 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Cotonou, 2 Dec (ADN)--GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer continued his talks in Cotonou on Tuesday. Representing the People's Republic of Benin at a working meeting were: Foreign Minister Simon Ifede Ogouma; the minister of higher education and scientific research, Armand Monteiro; minister of information and propaganda, Martin Dohou Azonihiho; minister of justice, Michel Alladaye; minister of public works, construction and housing, Cado Girigissou and minister of commerce, Sanni Mama Gomina.

Foreign Minister Ogouma said that Benin placed great hopes in this first visit by a GDR foreign minister. The GDR had great experience in developing a new society, he said. Since Benin, as an anti-imperialist state, aimed at developing a socialist society in a scientific basis, the GDR's experience were of great value to it.

During the meeting, there was agreement on underlining the good bilateral relations which, since 1977, had been reflected in a number of government agreements, the supplementation of which was also a subject of the discussions. The hosts noted with admiration that a number of joint commissions had created the prerequisites for the conclusion of agreements in the fields of trade and culture.

A detailed exchange of views has held on international issues during which a high degree of agreement manifested itself in the evaluation of basic international issues. The African side drew attention with satisfaction to the anti-imperialist and solidarity nature of GDR foreign policy which had proved itself in support of the national and social liberation struggle of African liberation movements.

TISCH TALKS ON TRADE UNIONS WITH DANISH CP DELEGATION

LD011854 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1438 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 1 Dec (ADN)--In a talk today with members of a delegation of the Danish Communist Party, Harry Tisch, member of the SED Politburo and chairman of the National Executive Committee of the FDGB, stressed that in the GDR no question of economic direction and no social problem was decided without the trade unions. Tisch emphasized that on the basis of their guaranteed rights the trade unions in the GDR ensured, as the largest class organization and representatives of the working class and all working people, codetermination and responsibility in the state, the economy and society.

The delegation of the Communist Party of Denmark, headed by party chairman Jorgen Jensen, is on a friendship visit to the GDR.

The partners in the talk underlined the responsibility of the trade unions and of all progressive forces for the safeguarding of peace and detente and for real disarmament measures. Jorgen Jensen said with regard to the visits by the Danish Communist Party delegation to numerous works and social institutions that he was deeply impressed by the social achievements of the GDR and the activities of the trade unions.

Delegation Departs

LD021526 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0900 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 2 Dec (ADN)--The delegation of the Communist Party of Denmark which, led by its chairman Jorgen Jensen, had visited the GDR during the past few days left for home on Tuesday.

It was given a cordial farewell by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

SED LEADER MEETS WITH ETHIOPIAN PARTY LEADER

AU012147 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29-30 Nov 80 p 6

[ADN report: "Consultations With Ethiopia; Meeting Between Gerhard Schuerer and Hadis Tedla"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, received on Friday Lt Col Hadis Tedla, member of the Executive Committee of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Workers of Ethiopia, member of the Standing Committee of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and for Central Planning, for friendly talks.

Central to these talks were tasks related to the implementation of the long-term program for developing economic relations as well as the commodity exchange between the GDR and socialist Ethiopia, which had been signed during the visit of the party-state delegation under the leadership of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, last November in Addis Ababa.

Gerhard Schuerer and Hadis Tedla valued the good results achieved in relations between the two states, and discussed possibilities for further deepening economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

The talks were also attended by Berhanu Jember, ambassador of socialist Ethiopia to the GDR.

SED DELEGATION VISIT TO SYRIA ENDS, COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

AU012132 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29-30 Nov 80 p 2

[Text] Damascus (ADN)--The delegation of the SED Central Committee led by Gerhard Grueneberg, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, concluded its visit to the Syrian Arab Republic on Friday and has returned home from Damascus. The GDR guests, who had stayed in Syria from 22 November at the invitation of the national leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, were seen off at Damascus airport by Muhammad Haydar, member of the Ba'th Party leadership, and other personalities.

The delegation, which earlier had also visited Lebanon at the invitation of the Lebanese Communist Party, also included Hans Albrecht, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the SED Suhl Bezirk leadership.

Joint Communique

AU022210 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29-30 Nov 80 p 6

[Joint communique issued on the visit of an SED delegation led by Politburo member Gerhard Grueneberg to the Syrian Arab Republic from 22-28 November]

[Text] A delegation of the SED under the leadership of Gerhard Grueneberg, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, paid a friendship visit to the Syrian Arab Republic [SAR] at the invitation of the national leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party from 22-28 November 1980. The visit took place on the basis of the agreement on cooperation between the SED and the Ba'th Party for the years 1980-81.

Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Ba'th Party and SAR president, received the SED delegation for a cordial and comradely exchange of views on topical problems of mutual interest. Gerhard Grueneberg conveyed a personal message and the most cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committe and chairman of the GDR Council of State, which were reciprocated equally cordially by Hafiz al-Asad.

The SED delegation expressed its high estimation of the multifaceted significant gains achieved under Ba'th Party leadership. It valued the outstanding role of Syria in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, as well as its aspirations to establish a just and durable peace in the Middle East on the basis of the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the assertion of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The SED delegation also appreciated the consistent measures of the SAR against all forces of the counterrevolution and for eliminating its bases, as well as for the consolidation of Syria's progressive course.

Muhammad Maydar, member of the Ba'th Party National Command, expressed Syria's great respect for the significant achievements scored by the GDR people, under SED leadership, in all fields. He valued the GDR's role in the struggle for maintaining and consolidating peace and for detente and disarmament, as well as the solidaristic attitude of the SED and GDR people vis-a-vis the struggle of the Arab peoples, particularly of the Palestinian people for regaining their legitimate rights.

The Syrian side shared the GDR viewpoint concerning the need for placing the principles of international law at the basis of relations between states, and thus also for strictly observing the treaty on the bases of relations between the GDR and FRG. This is highly important for preserving peace and detente in Europe.

In the talks about important topical international problems of mutual interest, particularly about the exacerbated situation in the Middle East, both sides resolutely denounced the machinations of imperialism, Zionism and other reactionary forces to which the Arab liberation movement is exposed. They emphatically reject the Camp David separate agreements between Egypt and Israel which came about with the active participation of the United States. These agreements are primarily aimed at disregarding the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine and encourage Israel to perpetuate the occupation of Arab territories.

In this context, the two sides resolutely denounce Israel's decision to incorporate the Arab portion of Jerusalem and, in violation of the Geneva charter and the UN resolutions, to proclaim it the eternal capital of Israel. They categorically reject the Israeli practices, which conflict with human rights, of arbitrarily changing geographic and demographic conditions in the occupied Arab territories, of pursuing racial discrimination, and of expelling Arab residents from their territories and setting up new strategic hamlets in these areas.

The two sides expressed their firm conviction that a just and durable peace in the Middle East can only be achieved through the complete withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, and the assertion of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination, return to their homeland and the establishment of an independent state of their own under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

They stress the need to normalize the situation in Lebanon on the basis of preserving the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the country. They demand that Israel's aggressive acts against Lebanon be stopped immediately, and request non-interference in Lebanon's internal affairs.

The SED and the Ba'th Party voice their serious concern about the policy of interference by U.S. imperialism in the Middle East, and most strongly denounce its increased military presence in the Arab region, the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, as well as the establishment of military bases in that area. This policy threatens not only the freedom, independence and natural resources of the peoples of the region, but also peace and security throughout the world.

Gerhard Grueneberg and Muhammad Haydar reaffirmed their conviction that peace and security in the Middle East, in Europe and in other parts of the world are immediately interconnected. After a thorough examination, the two arrived at the firm conviction that the international situation has been considerably exacerbated as a result of the aggressive confrontation course of imperialism, and particularly of the ruling U.S. quarters.

Imperialism and the hegemonists are daily intensifying tensions through their gross policy of interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, and through territorial claims that conflict with international law. They are stepping up the arms race on an unprecedented scale, particularly in the nuclear field.

The SED and Ba'th Party representatives are of the opinion that during the transition from the seventies to the eighties, imperialism is embarking on a dangerous course of confrontation with the forces of socialism and progress. It unilaterally pursues the aim of changing the current military equilibrium in its own favor, and of implementing a policy of strength on a worldwide scale. The NATO long-term program, the decision on the manufacture and stationing of new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe, and the new U.S. nuclear strategy constitute a serious danger to world peace and to the security of all peoples. The participants in the discussion agreed that the decisive issue of the present times consists in putting an end to the arms race and initiating effective disarmament steps.

The two sides stressed the need for a further consolidation of the alliance between socialism and the national liberation movement in the struggle for freedom, independence of peoples and the liberation of their territories from foreign occupation. They declare their full support for the just struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism, Zionism, racism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for the national independence and the social progress of these peoples.

The two sides express their satisfaction with the development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the SAR and the countries of the socialist community, with the USSR at the head. They voice their extraordinary satisfaction with the qualitative development of the close and friendly relations between the SAR and the USSR that have been expressed in the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed by Hafiz al-Asad and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev.

The two sides uphold the view that the nonaligned movement constitutes a powerful factor in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and Zionism. It plays a decisive role for world peace and for fashioning international relations on an equal and democratic basis.

The SED and the Ba'th Party express their profound satisfaction with the relations of friendship and cooperation existing between them.

They are of the firm conviction that the talks which took place in an atmosphere of close friendship, confidence and mutual understanding constitute an important contribution to the further consolidation of the anti-imperialist alliance between the two parties, states and peoples in the interest of peace and social progress.

HONECKER GREETS SFRY LEADERS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU021830 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29-30 Nov 80 p 5

[Unattributed report: "GDR Congratulations on Yugoslav National Day: Greetings Telegrams to the Country's Representatives"]

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following telegram to Lazar Mojsov, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, and to Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency:

The SFRY national day provides me with a welcome opportunity to convey most cordial congratulations and greetings to you, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, and the Yugoslav fraternal peoples on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council, the GDR people and myself.

After the heroic victory over fascism, the Yugoslav peoples under LCY leadership have achieved impressive successes in a short time in history in the building of socialism, successes which elicit our sincere recognition.

I cherish the firm conviction that the relations of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the SED and the LCY, between the GDR and the SFRY, will in future also constantly strengthen and deepen to the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of peace and socialism.

I wish the communists and all Yugoslav working people great new successes in establishing the socialist society.

Esteemed comrades, accept at the same time by best wishes for good health, creative vigor and personal well-being.

On the same occasion Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, has sent congratulations to Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council.

LEADERS SEND GREETINGS TO ALBANIANS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU012140 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29-30 Nov 80 p 5

[Text] Berlin (NC)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, have conveyed the following telegram to Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, and to Mehmet Shehu, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania:

On the occasion of the national day of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, the 36th anniversary of liberation from fascism and the establishment of the people's power, we convey to the Albanian people best greetings on behalf of the GDR people and wish them success in building the socialist society.

HONECKER MESSAGE TO 'ARAFAT ON PALESTINIAN DAY

AU021855 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29-30 Nov 80 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR Firmly Linked With PLO: Militant Greetings in Solidarity to the Palestinian People; Erich Honecker Message Sent to Yasir 'Arafat"]

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has conveyed the following message of greetings to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and commander in chief of the armed forces of the Palestinian revolution:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and GDR people I convey to you, the PLO Executive Committee and the Palestinian people solidaristic militant greetings on the "international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people."

This day is an occasion for us once more to express our unshakable solidarity with the heroic just struggle of the Palestinian people.

The GDR views with concern the dangerous exacerbation of the situation in the Middle East as a result of the intensified imperialist policy of threats and boycott vis-a-vis the peoples of that region.

Under the leadership of the most aggressive quarters of U.S. imperialism, its imperialist allies combine their efforts to force their domination upon the peoples of the Middle East. They are striving to build up their military presence from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, are setting up new bases, stationing highly sophisticated espionage planes and are forming special rapid deployment forces that are also envisaged for employment in other areas of the world.

As a result of this policy dangerous to peace and hostile to detente, as well as exploiting the regional conflicts fanned particularly by U.S. imperialism, the Israeli ruling quarters are intensifying their aggressive acts against the PLO.

In view of the transition of imperialism to the policy of confrontation, the responsibility of all anti-imperialist forces for the preservation and consolidation of peace grows. Together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, the GDR devotes all its efforts to this supreme concern of mankind. Thanks to the successful efforts of all peace-loving forces, particularly in the seventies, we are able today to wage the common struggle for peace and social progress from incomparably stronger positions than ever.

I assure you, esteemed Comrade 'Arafat, that loyal to the internationalist principles of its foreign policy, the GDR will in future also firmly stand at the side of the Palestinian people.

We are most deeply convinced that the Palestinian people's daring and resolute struggle for freedom and independence, against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, depending on the increased power of the states of the socialist community and of all progressive forces throughout the world, will be victorious.

Message To Waldheim

AU021800 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29-30 Nov 80 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following telegram to Dr Kurt Waldheim, UN secretary general:

On the occasion of "international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people," the GDR reaffirms its close affinity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people and its legitimate representative, the PLO, for the assertion of its inalienable right to self-determination and to setting up its own independent and sovereign state.

In accordance with the UN decisions, the GDR proceeds from the premise that peace, security and stability in the Middle East are impossible without implementation of the rights of the Palestinian people, as well as the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem.

The further increase in tensions in the Middle East as a result of the exacerbation of the international situation, underscores the need for a comprehensive peace settlement. In total disregard for the decisions of the UN General Assembly and Security Council, Israel is continuing its policy of aggression and denying the right to self-determination, with the support of imperialist powers and as a result of the separate agreements. In view of this development, the GDR attaches particular importance to the resolution of the seventh extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly in which the implementation of the rights of the Palestinian people to a state of their own, as well as the PLO's participation on the basis of equal rights in all negotiations touching on the interests of the Palestinian people, are emphatically demanded.

The GDR will in the future also firmly stand at the side of the afflicted Palestinian people and of their representative, the PLO.

FRG CITIZEN HOFFMANN ARRESTED FOR TRANSIT ABUSE

DW021153 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Last night GDR security organs stopped and arrested FRG citizen Klaus Hoffmann in the GDR capital. In cooperation with a criminal gang in West Berlin he had misused GDR entry regulations and actively taken part in the organization and implementation of further subversive actions against the transit agreement. Investigative procedures were initiated and a warrant for arrest was issued.

MILITANT GROUPS IN DRESDEN PLEDGE SUPPORT FOR PARTY

LD021848 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Prior to the new training period, members of militant groups [kampfgruppe] of Dresden Bezirk announced their determination at a party aktiv meeting today to continue to carry out their class duty with honor. In a declaration of intent to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, they assured the party and state leadership that they firmly support the party's policy.

In view of the intensified confrontation policy by certain imperialist circles, the head of the Central Committee Security Department, Col Gen Herbert Scheibe, drew attention to the need to continue to increase defense efforts. The most important prerequisite for successfully fulfilling the future tasks is to constantly ensure the party's leading role in all units.

First secretary of the SED area executive Hans Modrow stressed that the workers' great achievements and readiness set the standard for the members of militant groups.

HOFFMANN GREETS BORDER GUARDS ON 34TH ANNIVERSARY

LD011040 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0301 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 1 Dec (ADN)--In an order of the day to mark the 34th anniversary of the GDR Border Guards, Defense Minister Army General Heinz Hoffmann conveys greetings and congratulations to the soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officer cadets, officers and generals and civilian employees.

It says: "We are celebrating the 34th anniversary of the Border Guards of the GDR in the midst of preparations by all our working people for the 10th SED Congress. During this period the close alliance of our border guards with the party of the working class is especially apparent."

The order says that the members of the Border Guards have been entrusted with a very responsible task. The importance of their service for the protection of socialism and peace is growing at a time when imperialism has dangerously aggravated the world political situation and is pressing toward open confrontation. Army General Heinz Hoffmann states that vigilantly and ready for action, buttressed by the confidence of the people, especially those who live close to the border and in unshakable alliance with their comrades-in-arms, the Border Guards are striving to safeguard reliably the GDR state border.

SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREETS HOFFMANN ON BIRTHDAY

AU022005 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Nov 80 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Central Committee Congratulates Comrade Heinz Hoffmann; Cordial Congratulations on 70th Birthday"]

[Text] On your 70th birthday, the SED Central Committee extends to you its most cordial greetings and congratulations. We respect and honor you as a communist who for more than five decades has untiringly struggled for the interests of the workers class, for socialism and for its reliable military protection.

Raised and educated in a Mannheim workers family, you very soon found your way into the organized workers movement. As a 16-year old you became a member of the Communist Youth Union of Germany and have continually proved to be an undaunted fighter for the interests of the workers class and the working people. Having become a member of the Communist Party of Germany [KPD] in 1930, you placed yourself in the front ranks of the resistance against Fascism. As an official of the Baden KPD leadership, you devoted yourself with particular passion and prudence to the task set forth by Ernst Thaelmann and the KPD Central Committee for forging the action unity of the German workers class.

Reared and tempered by Thaelmann's party, you were trained at the international Lenin school in Moscow by outstanding officials of the CPSU, the KPD and other parties of the communist international to become a capable, passionate propagandist of Marxism-Leninism. You actively participated in the class struggles of those years as a convinced and indomitable internationalist. As an officer of the 11th international brigade and war commissar of the Hans Beimler Battalion, you courageously fought for the freedom of the Spanish people, against German and international fascism.

Unshakably loyal to the Soviet Union, firmly linked with our Marxist-Leninist ideals, you participated during the Great Patriotic War as a proletarian internationalist and German patriot in the struggle for the destruction of Hitler's fascism and for the liberation of our people. As a convincing and inspiring teacher, you have worked with great success at several anti-fascist schools in the Soviet Union to make former members of the fascist armed forces understand the lessons of history of the German people, and to make them prove their worth in both the struggle against Fascism and in building a new socialist Germany.

After returning from the Soviet Union--first in the party Presidium of the KPD and SED, and later as secretary of the SED Bezirk Executive of Greater Berlin--you actively worked in leading functions for the development of the SED into a strong Marxist-Leninist fighting party, in building our worker-peasant power, in the anti-Fascist democratic transformation and in the socialist revolution.

As a vice president of the German administration of the interior, deputy chief of the German People's Police and chief of the Main Administration for Training, you participated in leading posts in the years 1949-52 in the building and development of the German People's Police and the enhancement of the fighting strength of its party organizations.

During your activity as chief of the garrisoned people's police and deputy minister of the interior, you earned particular credit for developing the units of the garrisoned people's police into well organized and efficient police formations. Side by side with the glorious Soviet Army, you have made a great contribution, by forming the garrisoned people's police, to the protection of our young worker-peasant state against the renascent militarism in the FRG and against its counterrevolutionary machinations and attacks against social progress.

You have been a member of the Central Committee since 1952 and of the Politburo since 1973. You have always scrupulously and exemplarily carried out the tasks assigned to you.

Trained at the general staff academy of the USSR Armed Forces, you have made a comprehensive contribution to the creative application of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of war and armed forces, and to drafting our party's military policy. The study of Soviet military science and bringing the experiences of the Soviet Armed Forces have always been a most important and significant task for you. The successful development of the National People's Army [NVA] into a modern-equipped, combat-strong socialist coalition army, as well as the development of our border troops, civil defense and other spheres of our socialist national defense, are most closely linked with your activity as deputy defense minister, chief of the main staff of the NVA, and since 1960 as army general and GDR minister of national defense.

As a member of the committee of defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact states, you participate in the strengthening of the socialist military coalition and you have headed important troop exercises of the combined armed forces of the Warsaw Pact, such as the "Quartet" maneuver in 1963 and the "Comradeship" maneuvers in 1970 and 1980.

It is precisely through your close cooperation with the leading comrades of the USSR Defense Ministry, the combined armed forces command and the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in the GDR that you hold a great personal share in the fact that the comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Army and the other socialist fraternal armies is deeply rooted among our armed forces and entire people.

It is due to your party-minded consistency, combined with great expert knowledge and a high degree of understanding for the people entrusted to you, that our officers and all NVA members are so trained and educated that the NVA can and will always honorably fulfill its class assignment.

On your day of honor we cordially thank you, dear Comrade Heinz Hoffmann, for your creative and tireless work in the interest of our Marxist-Leninist party, which passionately struggles at the head of the working people for peace and socialism, and for the happiness of man.

Dear Heinz, we wish you much creative vigor and good health also in your future activity in the party-state leadership collective, and in your responsible activities for the reliable military protection of socialism.

With socialist greetings, the SED Central Committee.

The GDR State Council and Council of Ministers also extended congratulations.

Honor Title Award

LD281140 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0309 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] Berlin, 28 Nov (ADN)--Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, has awarded on the proposal of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR National Defense Council the honor title of "Hero of the German Democratic Republic" to Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense.

With the award of the honor title is linked the decoration with the GDR's highest order, the Karl-Marx-Order.

BRIEFS

MINING COOPERATION WITH BULGARIA--The Mansfeld Wilhelm Pieck Eisleben combine and the G. Dimitrov Eliseyna metallurgical combine in Bulgaria will cooperate in the coming plan year on working out more effective technology for the production of copper, silver and selenium. This has been agreed upon between both combines in Eisleben. In addition, the agreement involves joint projects for speeding up scientific-technical progress in mining. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Nov 80 p 2 AU]

MICROELECTRONICS OUTPUT--The Erfurt radio plant is one of 22 plants organized in the combine for microelectronics. The products of the Erfurt plant include microprocessors not larger than the tip of a match which have a capacity of "more than 1,000 operations." While 1.8 million integrated circuits were produced in the plant in 1976, the 1980 output came to as many as 6.4 million such circuits "which, however, fundamentally differ from the earlier ones with respect to their scientific-technical quality." During the same period the value of production of microelectronics rose from about M25 million "to nearly M150 million." All told the number of units increased threefold, the value of production, however, rose to 6 times the former level. [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1831 GMT 29 Nov 80 DW]

MAGDEBURG STEEL PRODUCTION--The workers of the Wilhelm Pieck steel foundry, Magdeburg-Rothensee, smelted the 500,000th ton of steel on 29 November. The plant, which had been set up by decision of the eighth party congress, by now has nearly tripled its output. [Text] [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1836 GMT 29 Nov 80 DW]

NEW FERTILIZER PROJECT--A plant is under construction at a 200-hectare site near Rostock. It is one of the most important investment projects in Rostock Bezirk. The plant is scheduled to start production 3 years plus from now. It will produce lime ammonium nitrate from limestone and liquid ammonium hydroxide, something which is in great demand in agriculture for increasing yields. [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1836 GMT 29 Nov 80 DW]

GOESSNITZ EXPLOSION--A boiler exploded in the Goessnitz Haushaltchemie VEB which has 30 workers. The explosion killed four and injured two. The explosion did considerable damage to the building and machinery in the plant, also destroying windows and doors of surrounding houses, but there were no injuries. [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1804 GMT 19 Nov 80 DW]

WINDBREAK TIMBER--Thus far 2.1 million of the 7 million solid meters of timber resulting from windbreaks this spring, have been processed in the GDR. Processing operations in the forestry enterprises will also continue throughout the winter. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Nov 80 p 2 AU]

SUGAR BEET HARVEST PROGRESS--By the end of the week GDR cooperative farmers had harvested sugar beets on three-quarters or 19,000 hectares of the area under that crop. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Nov 80 p 1 AU]

MSZMP, VISITING DKP DELEGATION EXCHANGE VIEWS

LD272302 Budapest MTI in English 1742 GMT 27 Nov 80

[Text] Budapest, 27 Nov (MTI)--Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, and Karl Heinz Schroeder, member of the party Presidium, leadership and Secretariat, paid a visit to Hungary on Nov. 26 and 27 at the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee.

Janos Kadar, first secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, received Herbert Mies and Karl Heinz Schroeder and had comradely talks with them. At the meeting the sides briefed each other on their parties' activity, exchanged views on some actual questions of the international situation, the communist and workers movement. The guests from the Federal Republic of Germany met also with Janos Berecz, department head of the HSWP CC, and with Sandor Jakab, deputy general secretary of the CNZU [as received], member of the HSWP CC. Present was at the discussions also Gyula Horn, deputy head of the CC foreign department.

The representatives of the HSWP confirmed the solidarity of their party with the struggle, the FRG communists fight, together with other progressive forces for democratic and social rights, for curtailing the power of monopolies and against rightist tendencies.

The representatives of the HSWP and the German Communist Party condemned the NATO armament-spiralling efforts. They pledged support to every initiative that holds out the hope of reducing the risk of a thermonuclear catastrophe and may further the cause of military detente and disarmament. They called it a welcome phenomenon that the pro-detente forces are increasing their activity and that dialogue [word indistinct] become [word indistinct] between leaders of countries with different social systems.

The discussants expressed the hope that the Madrid meeting will end with success and will further the process started in Helsinki, to the benefit of the Final Act signatories. They consider it important that in a spirit of constructive cooperation the participants should decide earliest convocation of a conference designed to promote military detente.

The representatives of the two fraternal parties expressed solidarity with the Polish communists. They back the effort of the Polish United Workers Party which seeks to guide the working class of Poland, the Polish people to find a socialist solution to the problems affecting the country's present and future.

The sides agreed that strengthening of the internationalist solidarity and cooperation of the communist and workers parties--with the goal of realizing the common objectives--is invariably actual. They attack great importance to the regular bi- and multilateral exchanges of the [word indistinct] parties to the pursuit of answers to newly arising problems and to the development of new modern forms of cooperation. In this spirit do they wish to further develop the relations between the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the German Communist Party.

The delegation of the German Communist Party [word indistinct] [left] Budapest on Nov. 27.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE ISSUES REPORT, GUIDELINES

LD021916 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 2 Dec (MTI)--Under the chairmanship of Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, the HSWP CC held a session in Budapest on December 2. The Central Committee discussed and passed a report about timely international questions and approved guidelines for the 1981 national economic plan and state budget.

A communique will be issued about the session.

COMMITTEE FORMED TO COORDINATE TRANSPORT, SUPPLY TASKS

LD021524 Budapest MTI in English 1048 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 1 Dec (MTI)--The Hungarian Council of Ministers has set up an operative committee under the leadership of the communication and posts minister to direct and coordinate transport and supply tasks amidst the unusual weather conditions. With a view to normalizing the situation, the operative committee has directed railways, public road and local council organs to render every possible help in tackling transport and communication tasks, among the most urgent at present. Wide-ranging social cooperation, too, is required to overcome the unusual hardships. That is why the committee has urged local councils, plants, agricultural cooperatives to organize collaboration by the population--including communal forces--for immediately starting or continuing the necessary operations. Army units, too, are taking part in removing obstacles.

ACZEL DISCUSSES ROLE OF CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

LD030944 Budarest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Gyorgy Aczel gave a lecture on the topical issues of our cultural and ideological life at the communist aktiv held at the education directorate of the Budapest party committee. The party Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers analyzed the tasks of cultural institutions in forming the personality and guiding the development of a communal mode in thinking. He pointed out that the stability of our regime, the constancy of the main elements of our policy should not mean intractability in work. In the interest of progress we must break with things that have had their day. At the same time modern principles and methods that best satisfy the stricter demands must be explored and utilized in an ever wider scope. Keeping our perspectives in sight, we must strive to strengthen the action unity of society's classes and strata and to develop the mutual trust between the party and the people.

Gyorgy Aczel further dealt with the situation of experts working in scientific plants and research institutes. He stressed that we must bring about a situation where there are no superfluous experts--or those who feel themselves to be superfluous--anywhere. Therefore, society's interests must be asserted but care must be taken that personal shocks should be as small as possible and should last as short a time as possible.

Speaking about education, he stressed that the modernization of general and higher education will be one of the biggest undertakings of the next one or two decades, with the firm improvement of the quality of education at its center.

With regard to the significance of ideological work, Gyorgy Aczel emphasized that new answers have to be given to the new questions that arise. The interpretation and suppression of certain disturbing phenomena, and faulty, perhaps harmful, views also demand intensive ideological work, and this calls for the continuous strengthening of the hegemony of Marxism.

Speaking about the directives of educational policy, he urged a decisive stand against superficiality and false generalizations which at times appear even in works of art. In the support of art, henceforth as before, those socialist-minded creations enjoy priority which serve the people on a high level. He took the stand that we must be patient and conduct a partner-like debate with writers and artists who are as yet not socialist but who enrich our culture with their works. At the same time the public forum must further be prevented from being put to the service of destructive ideas of harmful intention and endeavors which are opposed to our laws.

POLITBURO CHANGES, RESOLUTIONS MARK PLENUM CONCLUSION

Four Politburo Members 'Released'

LD030126 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 3 Dec 80

[Text] The seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum ended yesterday a few minutes before midnight. A decision was passed concerning personal accountability on the part of former members of the leadership.

The Central Committee accepted requests to be released from the Politburo of the Central Committee by: Wladyslaw Kruczek, Alojzy Karkoszka, Stanislaw Kowalczyk and Andrzej Werblan, who has also been released from the post of Central Committee secretary.

The plenum has elected: as Politburo members, Mieczyslaw Moczar and Tadeusz Grabski; as candidate member of the Politburo Tadeusz Fiszbach; and as secretary of the Central Committee, Roman Ney.

In connection with the responsibility for errors in the sociopolitical and ideological policy as well as for incorrect decisions which have caused the present crisis situation and in connection with the recommendations of the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee to the effect that this responsibility rested primarily on the central links of the party and authorities, the seventh plenum of the party Central Committee deems it indispensable to determine the party responsibility of Comrades Edward Gierek and Piotr Jaroszewicz.

The case of Comrade Edward Gierek could not be examined by the sixth plenum of the Central Committee due to his illness. Also in the present plenum Comrade Edward Gierek is not participating despite an invitation.

The party Central Committee states that it is impossible to put off any longer the examination of the responsibility of Comrade Edward Gierek.

For over 9 years he was first secretary of the Central Committee. Many correct and socially accepted decisions and political undertakings as well as social and economic projects in the seventies have been made on his initiative and with his participation. This applies in particular to bringing the country out of the December crisis and embarking on and advancing a number of economic and social programs.

The Central Committee decides to recall from the group of candidate members of the party Central Committee the following comrades:

Adam Glazur, former minister of the construction and construction materials industry, for incorrect management of the ministry and criminal negligence in executing plans for housing and industrial construction and for the part played in submitting dishonest statistical data pertaining to construction;

Wlodzimierz Lejczak, former minister of mining, for tolerating false data pertaining to coal extraction and its quality as well as for the practice of fictitious coal trade. This has been documented on several occasions by the Supreme Control Chamber [NIK].

The party Central Committee instructs the central party control commission to examine the charges against Adam Glazur, accusing him of abusing his post, and to submit the results of the work done by the commission to the general public.

In connection with the decision adopted by the sixth plenum of the party Central Committee concerning excluding former members of the party leadership from the Central Committee, the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum instructs Comrades Edward Babiuch, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Tadeusz Pyka, Jan Szydlak, Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk and Zdzislaw Zandarowski to resign their parliamentary seats which they have received during the elections to the Sejm on the recommendation of the Central Committee.

The Central Committee instructs Comrade Edward Gierek to resign the parliamentary seat and the post of member of the State Council, which he received in the elections to the Sejm on the recommendation of the Central Committee.

The seventh plenum also instructs Comrade Piotr Jaroszewicz to resign his seat which he obtained in the elections to the Sejm on the recommendation of the Central Committee.

Plenum Speakers Listed

LD022212 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Excerpts] We start our bulletin with news from the seventh plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, which is continuing its discussions of the report read yesterday by Stanislaw Kania on "The Party's Tasks in the Struggle for the Socialist Renewal of Public Life," and other documents before it. Eleven speakers took the floor yesterday. Today the following addressed the plenum in turn:

Central Committee member Andrzej Boswoski, senior craftsman at the Raciborz boiler factory in Katowice Voivodship.

Candidate Central Committee member Jerzy Kusiak, first secretary of Poznan party voivodship committee;

Central Committee member Eugenia Kempara, chairwoman of the National Council of Polish Women and Central Board of the League of Women;

Central Committee member Lt Gen Jozef Baryla, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces;

Candidate Central Committee member Jan Buras, engine driver at Kielce railroad station;

Candidate Central Committee member Wlodzimierz Lejczak;

Central Committee member Czeslaw Drozdowicz, boatswain of the Polish Ocean Lines in Gdynia;

Central Committee member Jerzy Putrament, deputy chairman of the Union of Polish Writers;

Central Committee member Stanislaw Opalko, first secretary of Tarnow party voivodship committee;

Candidate Central Committee member Adam Glazur;

Central Committee member Miroslaw Milewski, minister of internal affairs;

Candidate Central Committee member Albin Siwak, team leader at the "Warszawa-Wachod" municipal construction combine;

Central Committee member Stanislaw Wronski, editor-in-chief of NOWE DROGI.

Central Committee member Boleslaw Kowalczyk, leading pourer at the Zawiercie steelworks in Katowice Voivodship;

Jozef Nowak, first secretary of Walbrzych party voivodship committee;

Central Committee member Mieczyslaw Moczar, chairman of the Supreme Control Chamber;

Candidate Central Committee member Jozef Janiszewski, foreman at the locomotive shed in Lublin.

Central Committee member Jozef Pajestka, chairman of the Polish Economic Society central board;

Candidate Central Committee member Janusz Kubasiewicz, first secretary of Skierniewice party voivodship committee.

Central Committee member Wojciech Jarecki, foreman machinist at the PZL transport equipment works in Kalisz;

Central Committee member Krystyn Dabrowa, first secretary of Krakow party voivodship committee;

Central Committee member Edward Pustelnik, toolmaker at the Gryfia ship repair yard in Szczecin;

Candidate Central Committee member Ryszard Karski, minister of foreign trade and maritime economy;

Central Committee member Zbigniew (Wzalawicki), first secretary of Suwalki party voivodship committee;

Candidate Central Committee member Andrzej Koltek, chairman of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth and chairman of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth;

Central Committee member Janusz Prokopiak, first secretary of Radom party voivodship committee;

Discussion continues.

We shall now broadcast more speeches made yesterday during the debates of the seventh plenum of the party Central Committee.

Central Committee member Ignacy Drabik, senior foreman at the Predom-Mesko metal works in Skarzysko Kamienna, Kielce Voivodship, said in his speech that at every level of management there should be a clearly stated aim and direction. Central authorities pay too much attention to general coordination, to collecting often useless information on similar subjects and to duplicating assessments of products. We know from our practice that most management staff do not have any training for professional management, for leading teams of workers, but that they are learning on the principle of trial and error. Educational establishments should take up this problem in their programs.

Speaking about Solidarity trade union, Ignacy Drabik stressed that it has many genuine activists working for genuine renewal but at the same time there are many examples of attempts to impose irresponsible moods of contradictory action, to create an atmosphere of trials of force and to take over the party's controlling function. The authorities must adopt a resolute attitude here. They must strictly oppose social, political and economic destabilization in every community.

The next speaker, Central Committee member Zofia Grzyb, forewoman and footwear-maker at the Radoskor leather factory in Radom, said at the outset that a mechanism for action should be prepared which would ensure not only a genuine democratization of party life but would also make it possible to restore the party's authority.

In her speech Zofia Grzyb went on to indicate that there is yet another group of issues which call for thorough reconsideration and this is the democracy inside the party. We can say confidently, she said, that we have distorted it in our practical work, that there has been altogether too much administration, detailed instructions and directives, and this in effect had led to less freedom of action.

There is also another matter which, in party members' views, should be taken up by the Central Committee, the government or other authorities. This is an approach and action by central authorities which would give a sense of security to party members when they have to take resolute positive action in the defense of socialism, the party, and law and order in our country.

Candidate Central Committee Politburo member Roman Ney, and rector of the Mining and Metallurgical Academy in Krakow, said that the need for convening the ninth special party congress is being widely taken up in discussions.

Preparations for the congress which should be led actively by the Central Committee will take place in a difficult political situation. The party must go on providing leadership even more effectively than at present in ensuring the socialist nature of the renewal of our country's political life. The precongress campaign should lead to greater militancy on the part of the party on the background of a concrete social and economic program. This program should be prepared through the party's inspiration and under its leadership by all those forces in our country which, while standing on the ground of socialist democracy and democratization, want to work for the cause of our state's development.

But while leading this process, the party must take upon its shoulders the main burden of responsibility. The whole party sees in the ninth congress a great opportunity and everything possible must be done to make sure that it is properly used for the good of the party and country.

This was the last speech made in yesterday's debate. In today's discussion of the seventh plenum of the party Central Committee, the first speaker was Central Committee member Andrzej Bosnowski, senior foreman at the Rafako boiler works in Raciborz. He said that for our country the most urgent task at present is to strengthen mutual trust and partnerlike cooperation and also to work out a permanent common area of agreement between the party and trade unions.

To this end there must be a deepening in the process of renewal which should be accompanied by restrictions on the activities of conservative forces opposed to renewal, which are also active within the party. There must also be consistent elimination of those forces striving to dismantle the socialist system in Poland, and which operate under the mantle of renewing the trade union movement. There must be a radical change in economic principles. Andrzej Bosnowski said that the basic problem worrying his workforce is the present energy situation, because losses caused by energy shortages are much greater than those caused by strikes which, to a great extent, are intended to bring attention to social and economic problems.

Referring to the recurring strikes, the speaker demanded that in future, when agreements are being reached with trade unions, it must be laid down by law which work places must not strike. This applies among others to hospitals, chemist shops, the fire service, power stations, and railroads. Poland's difficult situation can only be resolved by the joint efforts of all patriotic forces on the basis of partnerlike cooperation, honesty and good will. These forces must rid themselves of all those who are indifferent to the fate of Poles and Poland.

Poznan First Secretary Speech

LD021950 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] The seventh plenum of the Central Committee continues its debate. As reported earlier yesterday 11 Speakers took part in the discussion over the paper of Stanislaw Kania on "the Tasks of the Party in the Struggle for the Socialist Character of the Renewal of Social Life." Today 26 speakers took the floor. We now present some more speeches from today's debate.

The candidate member of the party Central Committee, first secretary of the voivodship party committee in Poznan, Jerzy Kusiak stated in his speech that in order to take the country out of the crisis it was indispensable to restore the party to its full capacity for action and activeness.

We still have not reached the desired state of affairs. At the same time, however, we note intensified activity of the basic party organizations in large work establishments. At the same time the basis party organizations express anxiety caused by the party's slow regaining of lost positions at the voivodship level and above all at the central level.

The activists are perturbed by the party assuming passive tactics. Decisions are being made when they are being enforced by the opponent.

At the sixth plenum we failed to determine clearly enough the line of our action vis-a-vis the forces which aim at destroying the party and seizing power in the country.

The convening of the congress at the end of the first and beginning of the second quarter of next year will make it possible for every organization to prepare themselves properly and will also make it possible to carry out throughout the party a constructive discussion on the sources of the crisis, above all on the ways for taking the party and the country out of it. Next the speaker pointed out that the sixth plenum has defined clearly and unequivocally the party policy concerning Solidarity and that 700,000 party members have found themselves in its ranks.

He stressed that in the Poznan Viovodship we have no conflicts whatsoever with the factory Solidarity organizations. We jointly seek a platform for cooperation in work establishments. A new formula should be worked out for workers' self-government. We strive for Solidarity to become a co-master of the enterprise, coresponsible not just for pay and working conditions but also for its results.

Referring to the state of our economy, Jerzy Kusiak said that after the propaganda of success we have now fallen for the other extreme of seeing everything on the dark side and that there is a great deal of false activity, a safety-first approach and fear of taking the necessary and immediate decisions--decisions which would meet with universal approval and would yield speedy results. The central issue of our economy at present is not construction but the optimum exploitation of the existing potential.

Deputy Defense Minister Address

LD022106 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Excerpt] We now present more speeches from today's Central Committee debate. Member of the Central Committee, deputy minister of national defense, head of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces, Lt Gen Jozef Baryla, dealt with the present situation in our country and stated that procrastinated social tensions, the endless string of social claims, the weakening of social discipline and the phenomena of anarchy, were most perturbing.

The current plenum is therefore immensely important, stressed the speaker--it arouses great hopes among all communists and all of society. The Polish Army supports authentically and sincerely the process of socialist renewal implemented by the party. The period between the sixth and the seventh plenums, said the speaker, has been used by the armed forces effectively, activating further still the activities of party echelons and organization in our military propaganda means, in particular regarding ideological struggle. In the climate of political activeness our party ranks are increasing systematically. They are being joined by young soldiers, mainly workers and peasants. In the army we have had a specific system of guarantees which protected us against distortions, making it possible to maintain a good Marxist-Leninist position as regards ideology. We have been strengthening our army and its moral and political cohesion as well as discipline.

We have been perfecting training and ideological upbringing as well as the organization and system of command and combat preparedness. These tasks, said Jozef Baryla, are being implemented within the defense system of the Warsaw Pact, in the brotherhood of arms with the Soviet Army and other socialist armies. Our armed forces were and are an important link of people's rule.

More Speakers at Plenum

LD022308 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] We start our bulletin with the seventh plenum debates. We have already reported previously that yesterday 11 speakers discussed the report read by Stanislaw Kania on "The Party's Tasks in the Struggle for the Socialist Character of the Renewal of Public Life".

Today 32 more speakers addressed the plenum. This evening the following spoke:

Candidate Central Committee member Zbigniew Glowacki; Candidate Central Committee member Waclaw Piatkowski, director of the Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department; Central Committee member Henryk Szablak, secretary of the Warsaw party committee, Jan Kaczmarek, member of the Presidium of the Central Auditing Commission and scientific secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences;

Central Committee member Kazimierz Olszewski, Polish ambassador to the USSR; candidate Central Committee member Henryk Swiderski, first secretary of Chelm party voivodship committee.

Now we shall present more who spoke in today's discussion. Candidate Central Committee member Wlodzimierz Lejczak began by saying:

I would like to refer to the draft resolution, from the text of which I find that accusations have been made against me in connection with my performance as minister of mining industry. In the period during which I led that industry, extraction increased from 179 million tons in 1976 to 202 million tons in 1979. The plan for the first 8 months of this year was completed on schedule: coal exports amounted to 63.2 percent of the annual plan. Labor safety was either improving or being maintained at the same level. I therefore cannot accept, Wlodzimierz Lejczak said, the accusation of serious neglect in the management of the coal industry and of inadequate supervision of labor conditions and safety.

It is true that following the inspection by the Supreme Chamber of Control member in September 1977 a deficiency of about 1.2 million tons of coal was discovered in 14 collieries. But it is also true that deficiencies of stocks were discovered since 1974, amounting to between 4.5 million and 5 million tons. At the time of my leaving my post the coal stocks were at the required minimum, which means that they were at their lowest for 8 years.

The irregularities revealed by the Supreme Chamber of Control in June this year regarding invoices were largely corrected in June and July. Referring next to the accusation of a wrong style in working with collectives, Wlodzimierz Lejczak said that at difficult times, during accidents, rescue actions and strikes, he could always be found among the workforces, which never leveled any accusations against him.

Next to speak was Central Committee member Czeslaw Drozdowicz, a boatswain working at the Polish Ocean Lines in Gdynia, who stressed in his speech that the party should do everything possible to recover its credibility in society and its ability to resolve accumulated problems. Party members are ready to undertake action only when it has been prepared and scheduled so that it may be successful. But they are afraid to undertake simulated [symulowame] actions and projects from which they would have to withdraw or change later. There is a general feeling, the speaker went on, that the principles of socialist democracy must be more broadly introduced into party practice. Therefore, it is essential to amend the statutes and the regulations in force, including the electoral regulations. The draft of electoral regulations which we have received fails to meet all the expectations of party members.

In the Gdansk coast there is a general expectation that the December events in 1970 will be explained more amply and that responsibility for these tragic events will be defined, Czeslaw Drozdowicz said in conclusion. This is regarded as a yardstick of the credibility of the party's present policy.

Interior Minister Cited

LD022322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Excerpts] Discussion has continued today at the seventh plenum of the party Central Committee on current problems in the political, social and economic life of our country and on the problems of the party's internal life.

The following members took part in discussion: Central Committee member Tadeusz Fiszbach, first secretary of Gdansk party voivodship committee;

Candidate Central Committee member Tadeusz Haladaj, first secretary of Tarnobrzeg party voivodship committee; Central Committee member Maria Milczarek;

Central Committee member Roman Bajerski, chairman of the farm production cooperative in the parish of Pakosc, Bydgoszcz Voivodship;

Central Committee member Henryk Kastecki, first secretary of Nowy Sacz party voivodship committee.

We shall now present more speakers who took part in today's discussion. Central Committee member Stanislaw Opalko, first secretary of Tarnow party voivodship committee, stressed in his speech that the party can become the spokesman of the strength and dreams of working people in Poland. But it must undergo a vast and difficult self-purging process. This process can only take place through action which would make the party's leading role in the nation credible.

Candidate Central Committee member Adam Glazur, speaking about the implementation of construction tasks in the second half of the seventies, said that there has been a clear disproportion between increased targets and existing resources. There has been shortages of funds for additional imports of materials and machines. In industrial construction additional decisions used to be made after plans were made, which effectively disorganized work and made it impossible to concentrate on implementing and completing projects on schedule.

The next speaker, Central Committee member Miroslaw Milewski, minister of internal affairs, said that all decisions and measures which were and are supposed to help in strengthening Poland and its socialist form, in making the citizen feel better, are being received with full approbation and understanding by Internal Affairs Ministry functionaries. But democratization is only possible in conditions of observation of law and order. The atmosphere of excitement and nervousness which is still being maintained has had the effect that destructive elements--elements which threaten the security of the state and citizens--breed in its soil. The state of discipline in industrial enterprises is also a reason for concern. There are many instances of disrespect for authorities, rude treatment of superiors. There are instances of threats and insults, and arrogant treatment of state functionaries.

There is no lack of people in Poland who are hostile to socialism, the speaker continued. They attach to the state of tension and anarchy definite calculations and hopes. Some of them, in close contact and with help from imperialist intelligence services and centers of subversion are trying to put into practice a program for overthrowing and assuming power in Poland. The so-called Confederation of Independent Poland which brings together reactionary and nationalistic forces (?has the character of open) counterrevolution.

Miroslaw Milewski said in conclusion that internal security functionaries have taken an unequivocal stand in the struggle for preserving our socialist achievements of the past 35 years.

Kempara on Women's Rights

LD030257 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Central Committee member Eugenja Kempara, chairwoman of the National Council of Polish Women [KRKP] and of the Central Board of the League of Women [LK] pointed out at the beginning of her contribution today to the debate at the seventh plenum of the PZPR Central Committee that: I have been instructed by women activists to ask here the following question. What is happening about equal rights for women in our country, since the road of women to vocational advancement and greater participation in the representative bodies is too uphill?

It is not a secret, said Eugenja Kempara, that women occupying the same posts are paid less wherever the grading officer allows diverse grades. It is not a secret that the pay is lower in spheres which traditionally employ women. Many legal acts of varying importance, starting with bills which in effect disqualify married women for certain jobs, are still binding today.

There is no need for me to justify how women assess the harmony of such laws with the Constitution, its spirit and its letter. The silence of the Council for Family Affairs, which has already lasted a year, is very eloquent. Despite a certain meekness which this body also could not evade, the group of people appointed to take part in it has gathered a great deal of important material and formulated more than 300 motions. It expressed its views on a number of draft bills and it is not its fault that they have not been implemented. It is high time to restore to it the proper status of an expert for the government in social policy issues.

The past months and weeks have proved, continued Eugenja Kempara n xt, how much prudence and commonsense can be displayed by women at difficult moments. They form an integral part of the working class. They have the same grievances and the same desires.

The party has a chance to win over millions of women to its ideals of democratizing life and uniting the nation around its vital issues. But it is imperative to suggest participation in taking the country out of the economic and moral crisis to them.

The strengthening of the position of women in society and realizing their constitutional rights should become part of the program put forward to the nation, concluded Eugenja Kempara.

Discussion on Railroad Conflict

LD022216 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] At today's session of the Central Committee plenum, Jan Buras, candidate member of the Central Committee, railroad engine driver at the Polish State Railways [PKP] junction in Kielce, dealt with the conflict on the railroads and stressed that it should not be reduced exclusively to the different stance between union organizations.

The railroad workers, he stated, have been claiming the right to co-govern and participate in decisionmaking. In the end, responsibility and the will to come to an agreement prevailed. Next the speaker stated that Kielce District railroad workers are not adequately prepared for next winter and that they are facing very difficult tasks. It is necessary to revise planning methods and to create economic and tariff barriers which will make it unprofitable to cart raw material and materials around Poland against scientific precepts.

The railroads call for more intensive repairs of railroads and for thoroughly modernizing equipment. The speaker also added that the railroad workers' party organization has joined the process of renewal and that he was instructed to submit to today's plenum the following motions:

It is expected that all former and present members of the party leadership, who have contributed to the loss of faith in the party, truth, justice and democracy will supply a complete account of their actions.

There should be separation of top jobs in the central economic apparatus from elected posts in the central party authorities.

More Speeches, Conclusion

LD030554 [Editorial report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 0200 GMT on 3 December continues reporting on the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum held in Warsaw on 1 and 2 December. It says that a total of 48 speakers took part in the debate of the plenum and that on behalf of the motions committee, Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, submitted the draft resolutions that were adopted.

The radio adds that the plenum decided to set up six Central Committee problem commissions: organizational, ideological, economic, agricultural, trade union movement and youth.

The report adds that the plenum adopted rules for electing PZPR officers and delegates. It reports: "On behalf of the Motions Committee set up at the previous sixth party plenum, Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, asked for acknowledgement of the report on the work of the Motions Committee. Next he submitted proposals concerning personal responsibility. At this juncture Stefan Olszowski read a letter from Edward Gierek sent to the Central Committee to be received by its first secretary. In the letter he asks to be recalled for the party Central Committee in view of poor health."

The report continues that PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Kania presented proposals concerning changes in the composition of the Politburo and Central Committee. Wladyslaw Kruczek and Alojzy Karkoszka asked to be released from the leadership due to poor health and Stanislaw Kowalczyk and Andrzej Werblan also asked to be released from the leadership in view of the motions to restrict the number of Politburo members holding state posts. The station says that Andrzej Werblan was also released from the post of Central Committee secretary and that he made a statement in which he indicated the reasons for his decision. According to the radio, Stanislaw Kania thanked these people wishing that in accordance with their strength they will actively serve the party and socialist Poland. Then he congratulated the newly-elected comrades. The plenum debate ended with a speech by Stanislaw Kania. The radio adds that the text of the speech will be carried in the 3 December press.

Resolution on Party Congress

LD030312 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 3 Dec 80

["Text" of PZPR Central Committee plenum resolution adopted in Warsaw on 2 December on the convening of the ninth party congress]

[Text] In conformity with Article 29 of the PZPR statute, the Central Committee has decided to convene the ninth extraordinary party congress toward the end of the first and beginning of the second quarter of next year. The Central Committee has set up a congress commission composed of more than 200 members. It entrusts the chair of the commission to First Secretary of the Central Committee Stanislaw Kania.

The congress commission will organize the Presidium and Secretariat from its members and will define guidelines for its work. The objective of the congress commission will be to draft a project for the program documents which will constitute the basis for the precongress debate.

The congress commission is being instructed to thoroughly analyze the appraisals, motions and proposals put forward during the debate and their proper use in the documents prepared for the congress. The congress commission should be guided in its work by the need to ensure the participation of the broad masses of party members in working out the program for the ninth congress. For this purpose the commission will currently examine proposals from party organizations sent to the Central Committee and as necessary it will set up working groups which can consist of activists and experts who are not members of the commission.

In December the basic party organizations will fix at party meetings, with the use of materials from the seventh Central Committee plenum, problems which in their opinion should be the subject of the work done by the congress commission. Local party echelons will pass on these problems to the Secretariat of the commission. The materials received from basic party organizations will be used by the congress commission during drafting the project of the thesis for the ninth congress and proposals for changes in the PZPR statute. The Central Committee authorizes the Politburo to undertake the necessary organizational work connected with the preparations for the congress.

Resolution on Gierek, Jaroszewicz

LD030252 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 3 Dec 80

["Text" of resolution adopted at seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum held in Warsaw on 2 December 1980 on the party responsibility of Edward Gierek and Piotr Jaroszewicz for errors in the sociopolitical and ideological policy]

[Text] In connection with the responsibility for errors in the sociopolitical and ideological policy, as well as for incorrect decisions which have caused the present crisis and in connection with the recommendations of the sixth party Central Committee plenum to the effect that this responsibility rested primarily on the central links of the party and authorities, the seventh party Central Committee plenum deems it indispensable to determine the party responsibility of Comrades Edward Gierek and Piotr Jaroszewicz.

The case of Comrade Edward Gierek could not be examined by the sixth Central Committee plenum due to his illness. Also in the present plenum Comrade Edward Gierek is not participating despite an invitation.

The party Central Committee states that it is impossible to put off any longer the examination of the responsibility of Comrade Edward Gierek.

For over 9 years he was first secretary of the Central Committee. Many correct and socially accepted decisions and political projects as well as social and economic projects in the seventies, have been made on his initiative and with his participation. This applies in particular to bring the country out of the December crisis, and embarking on and advancing a number of economic and social programs.

At the same time, Comrade Edward Gierek carries serious personal responsibility for arbitrariness in economic and social policy, for ignoring economic laws and for disregarding critical opinions.

The main error of Comrade Edward Gierek was creating an organization of relations and methods of action in the party leadership which was contrary to party principles. He favored intrigues and the replacement of genuine democracy with appearances.

The Central Committee, Politburo and Secretariat were absorbed by matters of secondary importance, and matters of fundamental importance were decided outside them. Comrade Edward Gierrk is also responsible for serious errors in the personnel policy at the central level. In connection with the above, the party Central Committee decides to recall Comrade Edward Gierek from the Central Committee.

The question of the responsibility of Comrade Piotr Jaroszewicz also calls for an examination. Being able to exercise dominant influence on the socioeconomic policy throughout the decade, he played in particular a key role in launching an investment policy which exceeded the possibilities of the country and which was devoid of internal compactness, as well as increasing the country's indebtedness. Serious responsibility rests on Comrade Jaroszewicz for forcing the June draft on price changes in 1976.

What is more important, serious responsibility rests on him for opposing all attempts at serious changes in the socioeconomic policy. The peremptory and autocratic style of leadership on the part of Comrade Piotr Jaroszewicz led to rash economic and personnel decisions, ignoring party opinion and disregard for the voices of criticism.

In this connection the Central Committee decides to instruct the central party control commission to examine the case of Comrade Piotr Jaroszewicz and to adopt a decision concerning his membership in the party, to thoroughly examine his responsibility and justify the charges of abuse of his position, as well as to inform the party and public opinion about the results.

1 December Speeches Reported

LD022034 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] We are now broadcasting the discussion at yesterday's session of the seventh plenum of party Central Committee. The first to speak was Central Committee member Antoni Wrobel, a mechanic at the Plock petrochemical works.

He stated that, despite the multidirectional actions taken, we are still witnessing social tensions. The right to strike is used in an irresponsible manner to stir up tensions and to escalate demands of a political character. This situation makes the party's work difficult. The government, instead of concentrating on putting right the (?party), has of necessity to act in the role of a fire brigade.

At the same time, to have a moral justification for taking action, we should rapidly and decisively deal with those who have violated the norms of party life.

We need this to restore the good name of the party in the nation. In our work, the speaker continued, we need to restore the proper meaning of consultation on all major problems, including the rules for electing officials and delegates.

Another problem is that of maintaining wider contacts between party members, the party leadership and party organizations.

Observing recent events, I have arrived at the conclusion, Antoni Wrobel said, that the decisive potential as regards the party's strength should be deep Marxist-Leninist knowledge. To the practice of party action we should introduce forms which prevent life from being isolated from ideology.

The problem leading to the convening of the ninth extraordinary congress of the party is of fundamental importance. The Plock party organization feels that preparations should begin immediately after the present plenary debates, by organizing meetings at which, for example, we could confer on the proposed election rules.

Here is the voice of another speaker, Central Committee member Ryszard Wojna, TRYBUNA LUDU commentator.

He said that the reconstruction of the party and its new unity can be carried out only around a program which responds to the need of the moment. Only a great vision, only a great program for the future to measure up to the expectations aroused, can move the masses. Only such a program can move the party to action.

Of the questions that have to be settled by the ninth congress of the party, I consider the most important to be the one which will codify the leading role of the party. This applies to the codification in the party's own statues, as well as in the legal structures of the state.

The speaker spoke in favor of guaranteeing the working class the possibility to influence the state's social and economic policy through trade union organizations, workers' self-government and enterprise passing on councils proposals and demands to voivodship national councils and Sejm committees.

Ryszard Wojna welcomed Stansilaw Kania's proposal that the congress commission should not only analyze what is sent to it directly , but should also listen carefully to the basic discussions going on in our nation. Thus, the commission should fulfill the role of a central discussion forum for proposals and demands and the national thought on the future of the country.

In the discussions that have been aroused on the development and renewal in the Polish nation there is predominant a sense of the right to general participation in all deliberations concerning the country's problems, a sense which must not be treated lightly and which has already become a powerful material source.

The party should lead this movement. If it does so, it will emerge healthy from the crisis, and will move its own ranks and the vast majority of the nation to follow it.

(?We should leave this session) of the plenum with one program which will make us credible to our own party ranks, which will make the whole nation, and also our opponents, realize that the only politically responsible force which constitutes the political linchpin our state is our party, Ryszard Wojna said in conclusion.

PAP Russian on Debate

LD030040 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Dec (PAP)--In the debates at the seventh plenum of the PZPR Central Committee many problems were touched on connected with the present situation in the country and with its future. Most frequently the following questions were dealt with:

The Situation in the Country

International reaction: It is fully understandable that the situation in Poland arouses the concern of our friends, the peoples, parties and governments of the socialist countries. However, not only them. In the capitals of many countries of the world it is publicly and frequently noted that Poland has for too long been the center of attention in the world, the consequences of which are difficult to forecast.

The right to strike--one of the main guarantees of the process of renewal--is being used irresponsibly to kindle tension and intensify demands of a political nature. Such a situation is leading to anarchy and is threatening our national existence. A proposal has been made to introduce--in agreement with all the trade unions--a law by which all enterprises and institutions such as hospitals, the fire service, power engineering production and railroads will be deprived of the right to strike.

A further aggravation of the situation can be avoided only by adopting a mature program of action for the party and state. This will only be possible if we depart from parochial interests of individuals and groups and start discussing things in terms of the highest interests of the party and of socialist society.

There is a dominant view that the authorities are not firm enough. Indicating ways of getting out of the situation, speakers called for just, but at the same time strict authority. Moreover the idea is not for opposition, but for decisive activity in defense of rights guaranteed by the constitution, for establishing full stabilization in the country. The authorities should be strong, through a program under the slogan "Yes," and should not paint a catastrophic picture. The PZPR should act with thought for tomorrow and for the distant future.

The government should fulfil all obligations, otherwise people's power will never become genuine. So far checks without payment have been given. However, since they have been given, they should be laid at the basis of drafting plans which the people will fulfill.

The plenum defined clearly and unequivocally the policy of the party in relation to Solidarity. Seven hundred thousand party members have entered the ranks of this trade union.

In some viovodships over 70 percent, and in others over 90 percent, of party members have become members of Solidarity. We are seeing ever-increasing examples of cooperation and joint searches for a platform of interaction at enterprises. Of course, not all of this is flowing smoothly. Distrust reigns.

Strengthening reciprocal trust and elaborating a solid platform of agreement between the party and the trade unions is one of the most urgent tasks.

For this we need a deepening of the processes of renewal with a simultaneous limitation of the influence of forces hostile to renewal, which operate even in the party, and also in consistently rendering harmless antisocialist forces operating under the cover of renewing the trade union movement. The question of whether the trade union movement will become an ally of the party depends not only on the movement but also on members of PZPR institutions, on their ability to conduct an honest dialogue. Solidarity is not an homogenous movement. At one end there are millions of working people Solidarity who saw in it a force capable of effectively defending their interests; at the other there are groups of leaders, surrounded by advisors, among whom are also political enemies, which appeared during the course of the movement's natural formation.

The party--if it wants to be at the head of correct and necessary changes--must define its attitude to what is the essence of the public protest against errors committed and what also gives food to forces hostile to it. The party's duty is to formulate anew a vision of socialism with an overwhelming moral motivation. An extremely important issue is the codification of the method of executing the leading role of the party.

The party should stand at the head of the country's renewal. If it does this, it will emerge renewed from the crisis. In order to lead the renewal in the state, the party started with itself, but this process is being drawn out.

Party members expect from the leadership decisive, well-thought-out action serving to strengthen the party and its prestige. They also expect a calling to account of the persons who, in connection with the functions they execute, bear special responsibility for the deepest economic and political crisis in 36 years, who permitted a violation of the Leninist norms of party life. Not one representative of a party official body originating from the working class has forgotten whence he came and who gave him his authority.

The renewal of the party is, among other things, a general separation of the leading functions in the central management apparatus from these functions by electing in the central party organs of power and introducing into the Central Committee Politburo of workers of key sectors of the national economy and representatives of the countryside--the perfection of intraparty information.

It is essential to clarify the causes of the misunderstanding and tension being observed between party organs and party organizations. Over the past few weeks the conviction has grown that the leadership is developing the process of renewal too slowly. The crisis of confidence must not be solved either by means of slogans or by assurances that the party is an adherent of renewal. It is not words that are needed but specific decisions on intraparty life.

The report-back and election campaign before the Ninth PZPR Congress conducted on democratic principles is the path to reestablishing the prestige of all party links. Profound Marxist-Leninist knowledge and activity on the ideolgical front should be a potential predetermining its strength. [as received]

The main problem of the national economy at present is the optimum utilization of the already-existing potential. So far there has been a lack of objective evaluation of the national economy. There has been much pseudoactivity, overinsurance, and evasion of adopting the necessary trust decisions. Leading cadres: A considerable proportion of these cadres, as we know from practice, do not have professional training and learn by trial and error. Those who have become exhausted should be given the opportunity of early retirement, at the same time attracting them to consultation and participation in the creation of new values.

The position of the Polish Army, which supports the process of socialist renewal being implemented by the party, was represented in the debates. The same position was taken by a speaker in the name of the department of the minister of internal affairs, who, however, directed attention to the fact that democratization is only possible with the condition of observing calm and order, and he quoted data on the growth in crime over the past months.

[Warsaw PAP in English at 0200 GMT on 3 December carries a report on the 2 December PZPR Central Committee plenum debate. The PAP English version is identical with the PAP Russian with two exceptions:

[1. The PAP English version omits all of paragraph fifteen, from "the report-back and" to "strength. [as received]"

[2. After the last paragraph last line PAP English supplies the following additional paragraph: A proposal was made to create a worker's chamber in Poland's socialist parliament to be elected only by employees [words indistinct] by big-industrial working class. It would be empowered to veto social and economic legislation.]

New Politburo Members' Biographies

LD030958 Warsaw PAP in English 0228 GMT 3 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Dec (PAP)--Tadeusz Grabski was born in 1929 in Warsaw to an intelligentsia family. After graduating from the higher school of economics in Poznan he served for five years in the Polish Army as an officer.

In 1971-72 he was secretary for economic affairs at the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Poznan, in 1972-75 chairman of the voivodship People's Council in Poznan and Poznan voivoda. In 1975-79 he was first secretary of the PUWP VC in Konin.

PUWP member since 1956, he was elected CC member at the 7th PUWP Congress. The 4th plenum in August 1980 coopted him to the CC. On August 24, 1980 he was appointed vice-premier and held this post till October 8, 1980.

The 6th plenum on September 5, 1980 elected him CC secretary. The 7th CC plenum today elected him member of the Political Bureau.

Tadeusz Grabski was Sejm deputy in the 1976-80 term.

Mieczyslaw Moczar was born on December 25, 1913 in Lodz to a worker's family. In 1937 he joined the international revolutionary relief organization and next the Communist Party of Poland (KPP). Arrested for his revolutionary activities in 1938, he was released from prison in Lomza when the war broke out.

Moczar took part in the defence of Warsaw of 1939. He was the founder of the organization "For Your Freedom and Ours" in Lodz which was later incorporated to the Polish Workers' Party. In the years 1942-45 he was the commander of the people's guard in the Lodz, Lublin and Kielce regions.

In May, 1948 he was appointed vice-minister of public security and in August of the same year he became the Olsztyn Voivoda and next, the period 1948-52 chairman of the voivodship People's Council of Olsztyn. In April 1956 he was appointed minister for state farms, then, in the same year, vice-minister of internal affairs and next, in 1964, he was appointed minister of internal affairs which post he held till July 1968.

PUWP member since 1948, in the years 1944-48, he was in the Polish Workers' Party CC. In 1948 he became alternate member of the PUWP CC and in 1956 its full member. In the period from July 1968 till June 1971 he was CC secretary, alternate member of the Political Bureau as from July 1968, member of the Political Bureau from December 1970 till December 1971.

On December 2, 1980, the 7th PUWP CC elected him member of the Political Bureau. He was Sejm deputy in the years 1977-80, member of the Council of State from June 1969 till March 1976.

In June, 1971 he became chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK) and from March 1976 till October 8 of this year--when NIK became again subordinated to the Sejm--member of the Council of Ministers. On the same day he was again appointed by the Sejm to the post of NIK chairman.

He has been in the rank of general since 1946 and was chairman of the main board of the ZBoWID war veterans organization in the period from 1964 till May, 1972. On November 3, 1980 he was called to the post of chairman of the ZBoWID Supreme Council. He was decorated with the order of Builder of People's Poland.

Tadeusz Fiszbach was born in 1935 to a working-class family. He is a graduate of the higher agricultural school in Olsztyn, the PUWP CC higher school of social sciences and the main School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw. He has an engineer's degree in technology and an M.A. in economics. He has been a PUWP member since 1958.

In 1968 he was elected first secretary of the PUWP District Committee in Tczew. In January 1971 he became secretary of the PUWP VC in Gdansk. In May 1975 he was elected first secretary of the PUWP VC in Gdansk. The 7th and 8th PUWP Congress elected him member of the PUWP CC. The 7th PUWP CC plenum elected Tadeusz Fiszbach alternate member of the Political Bureau.

Roman Ney was born in February 18, 1931, to a teacher's family in Pinsk. He graduated from the Krakow Academy of Mining and Metallurgy (AGH) in 1955, made his doctor's degree there in 1962 and received professorship in 1972. He is member of the PUWP since 1961. The 7th PUWP Congress elected him alternate member of the PUWP CC. At the 6th CC plenary meeting of October 5, 1980, he was elected CC full member and alternate member of the CC Political Bureau. At the 7th plenum he was elected secretary of the Central Committee.

He was deputy rector of the AGH in the years 1969-72 and its rector in the period 1972-74, and has been holding this post again since 1979. In the years 1974-77 he was undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology. He is author of many scientific publications.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY PRESIDIUM SESSION ON RENEWAL

LD022304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2030 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] At a meeting today, the Democratic Party Central Committee Presidium assessed the current situation in the country. It was stressed that Poland needs order and calm, honest work and efficient production. The Democratic Party supports a consistent continuation of the process of renewal, and demands measures against those who wish to slow down the renewal process.

The Presidium also discussed issues connected with the Democratic Party plenum which is to be held tomorrow at which the functioning of people's councils will be the topic for discussion.

SEJM DEFENSE COMMISSION REPLACES GRUDZIEN

LD021740 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] A meeting of the Sejm Commission for National Defense was held today. The commission released Deputy Zdzislaw Grudzien from the post of chairman of the commission and appointed Deputy Adrzej Zabinski in his place. The commission examined the activity of the League of National Defense [LOK] in past years. It was pointed out that some more important projects of the LOK, particularly concerning events and demonstrations of patriotic and defense character, defense sport, competitions and rallies should be popularized more by the mass media.

Next on the agenda the commission approved the following request directed to the State Council. I quote: "The armed deed of the Polish soldier during World War II has been commemorated by the following medals presented to those taking part in the campaigns and battles in the ranks of the Polish Peoples Army: for the liberation of Warsaw, for taking part in the battle for Berlin, Odra, Nysa and Baltic, victory and freedom. Polish Armed Forces in the West received medals for ground forces, air forces, and navy and merchant navy, and the Monte Cassino Cross which in effect is a medal because it was given to all taking part in the battle, like a Partisan Cross.

"Up to now, those who took part in the battles of September, 1939, numerically the largest group, did not receive a medal. The National Defense Commission, striving to consolidate ex-combatants, and national unity, appeals to the State Council for instituting the medal for defense in 1939, which will be awarded to all soldiers of September regardless of their present home and citizenship."

ZABINSKI DISCUSSES CURRENT ISSUES WITH YOUNG PEOPLE

AU281255 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 21-23 Nov 80 pp 1, 4

[Marian Twarog report: "Meeting With Andrzej Zabinski, PZPR Politburo Member and First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Katowice--About the Party, About Young People, About Our Problems"]

[Excerpts] Not so long ago the aktivs of the Socialist Union of Polish Youth and of the Polish Scout Union of Katowice Voivodship (students had had a separate meeting) met in the intervoivodship party school with Comrade Andrzej Zabinski. The meeting was in the form of a partnerlike discussion, like a press conference. Of the 100 submitted questions some 40 were selected because they were the most frequent (another 40 questions were asked from the floor). A. Zabinski answered them.

It is impossible to publish almost 60 pages of reports on the 4-hour meeting in question. That is why we are publishing only the questions and answers on young people's affairs and on the functioning of their organization in full, and the other questions and answers, which were discussed at length at the meeting, in an abbreviated version.

The meeting was not dominated by purely youth problems. Only one-third of the questions concerned such problems but most of them centered on the current situation of the country and in Katowice Voivodship, which was natural if we consider that almost all the youth activists and over one-fifth of youth organization members are party members. That is why they could not have missed such an opportunity. There are the main theses of Andrzej Zabinski's answers concerning the following issues:

The date of the Ninth PZPR Congress: No date has been fixed as yet. The congress should take place as soon as possible but must be preceded by efforts to work out a ripe concept of the economic program. I think that it would be wrong for the congress to convene merely to elect new comrades and to amend the statutes.

Progress of renewal in internal party life: Renewal of party life is a fact. Life has been democratized, people who violated the statutes are departing, the Leninist and not the command style of leadership is being practiced and verbose propaganda is receding in favor of a profound dialogue.

The party's leading role: It is necessary to return to the theoretical concepts of the party's leading role and to reject the practice of the past few years. The party should do its work through its members and should not administer. That is why we should engage in a continuous dialogue with party members so that they are able to defend the party line. We should not be satisfied with mere instruction.

Verification of party members: Of course, verification of some kind must take place, but it would be wrong to pay attention only to verification at such a difficult period.

The party's offensive: If we talk about a new style of party work we should give up the concept of an offensive in favor of essential, daily work. What is most important is the question: how to bring about social, political and economic stability and how to overcome the crisis?

The party's responsibility for the crisis: The sixth PZPR plenum allotted the responsibility for the crisis to the central institutions--the Politburo and the government. That was not done in order to protect the rank-and-file party members. It was done from a correct Marxist analysis and from the need to increase responsibility, very often personal responsibility, which is a condition for renewal.

Mechanisms to prevent distortions of party life: The main reason for distortions was the fact that criticism and self-criticism did not function in the party. That is why it is necessary, first, to make personnel policy more objective and to bring more people from production into the apparatus; second, to ensure objective information because if someone criticizes the nature of information then, within a year at the most, he will have his information exactly as he wants it; third, to abandon the autocratic style of leadership, management and administration in favor of organizing party life; fourth, not to manage party organizations with the exclusive help of appeals, proclamations and speeches--naturally in such a case there will be less applause, flowers and photographs--but to operate the necessary mechanisms of action; fifth, to ensure a large measure of freedom of speech and not to regard criticism of certain measures for which we are responsible as criticism of ourselves.

Public information about punished party members: There is no other way. First we must put our own house in order. Since the conduct of some party members has revolted public opinion, we must make our reaction public.

Separation of party from social functions: We should abandon the principles of combining such functions but we should not go to the other extreme and, as an example, refuse to elect someone as chairman of the workers self-management conference simply because he is first secretary of the plant committee. We must depart from schematism and try to attract to activity as many people as possible.

Rotation of functions: Rotation for the sake of rotation produces nothing. Functions should be fixed for periods such as 5-year periods, for examples, or for other periods. Political culture makes it necessary to search for reasonable solutions in that regard--for genuine and not formal solutions.

The accountability-election campaign: Is the campaign to be held only in order to dismiss by secret ballot the people having certain functions? A campaign without a program would be a useless campaign and would do more harm than good. It is true that we have to carry out that campaign as soon as possible. Some comrades would like someone from above to carry out the renewal they talk about so much. If you want renewal in your town and factory, then show more courage. Good order should be made at the top as well as in one's own backyard.

Our common problems: In this group of questions, which we have singled out, problems of enormous importance were discussed along with individual problems. It was like what Comrade Zabinski said in answering a question: "Our society continues to be greatly split in its opinions. The main stream of discussion is vindictive in character." That is natural because also in Katowice Voivodship every kind of critical discussion was smothered in the seventies, which has triggered a typical outburst of social criticism now. The main theses of replies to the questions on the following issues are as follows:

The four-brigade work system: It was only in Jastrzebie that I signed a capitulation act between the miners' families and the ministry. We should concede, however, that the four-brigade system was correct from the viewpoint of work organization but it did not take into account the old Silesian and basin tradition that Sunday belongs to wives, fiancees, children and family life as well as to spiritual duties, including religious duties.

The future economic model: The concepts that are being worked out will place a great stress on self-government and independence, although the central plan will remain. One thing we want to do is to change one's ideas about a cash box in Warsaw on which everyone can draw to their heart's content. Everyone will have to learn to count money. For example, that may be helped by the liquidation of limits on employment and by preserving wage limits, provided of course that the production plan, which makes progress possible, is adopted.

Propaganda: The problem of propaganda is the opposite of the problem of artillery--the smaller the bore, the greater the range. I do not know whether anyone will become a socialist because he reads a banner over a bridge.... That is no doubt not enough.

What we must do above all is to reallocate the funds for such banners in favor of cultural patronage. Second, we need reliable information that would not only spread the truth and lay bare difficult problems but also explain the reason for such problems. Third, we must allow more room for discussions about our problems, Poland's problems. If we do not write about something that we do not agree with, for example, then what? Will that something disappear? Nothing will happen, except that public gatherings and not party meetings will discuss things. Whatever is true should be discussed in public.

The Katowice cultural desert: Such a large center as Katowice must have a larger cultural infrastructure and must be more militant in helping to create national culture. We have already allotted the cadre training center to cultural purposes. We have a strong television center, the Polish Radio-TV Film Export Division Center and a strong musical base. However, there is much to be done in the field of theater and literature. We cannot see any young people wanting to write. That is also an important issue for your organization.

Curbs on cabaret satire: History tells us that every king had his jester and that not only was he not afraid of him, but even regarded him as a typical safety valve. We must regard satire above all in a creative way, as a form of criticism expressed in an artistic manner. That is why society and the apparatus of power always need satire. Of course, I have in mind genuine satire and not shallow slanders.

Irresponsible actions, statements: No nation wants a permanent revolution and prolonged destabilization, which is something unbearable to everyone. However, people should know other people's views, because everyone is responsible for his own words.

Free speech: We are a country of considerable democratic traditions. Free speech should not be punished. If anyone's views differ from mine, then I have to polemicize with them. The law should interfere only when one calls for subversive activities and when he slanders our nation, which to me is antisocialist activity.

Confrontation of views with Solidarity: I reject what is bad and peripheral in this movement but I am also aware of its rational underlying base. After all I was at its birth in Szczecin and Jastrzebie. We want a partnerlike cooperation with Solidarity. That means that we want it [Solidarity] to represent the workers' genuine interests.

The antisocialist forces in Solidarity: I am against this phenomenon but it is not a massive phenomenon. In its majority, Solidarity in Silesia and the basin has nothing in common with the antisocialist forces. But where it has, I am sure the workers class itself will reject them.

'STEREOTYPE' CREATES 'VICIOUS CIRCLE OF FRUSTRATION'

AU011552 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22-23 Nov 80 p 7

[Bogdan Gotowski article: "Let Us Break This Circle"]

[Excerpts] It is with great concern that I observe the fact that a stereotyped idea of our present situation has taken hold of the consciousness of a certain large part of society and of a large part of the apparatus of power. That idea is simply dangerous as far as its consequences are concerned.

That idea has been born of the activities and omissions of those communities that are interested in maintaining a state of tension and uncertainty and, above all, in ensuring that the past is recalled as little as possible.

Although that idea is based on a unilateral approach, it is having an enormous impact on attitudes and conduct. That impact is all the greater since an avalanche of information about the true state of our nation came upon us last August. No one was really prepared for such an avalanche.

The starting point of that idea is the assertion that last August and September something happened that in a dramatic way has changed the country's situation, disorganized our economy and created an unprecedented threat to every sphere of our life.

No one--almost no one--negatively appraises the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements. On the contrary, people regard them as positive and important events, although--which is a paradox--there has been a violent increase in threats from the day those agreements were signed.

The new trade unions are allegedly the main reason for uncertainties and possible threats. In keeping with that idea, agreement with those trade unions and harmoniously committing them to public and economic life are impossible because: 1) Their intentions are difficult to define; 2) They reject or question most of the old "rules of the game" valid in public life; 3) They encourage demands that are impossible to implement, especially wage demands, which boost inflation; and 4) They have lost a sense of moderation and will submit new, greater demands as soon as the original ones have been met.

The other elements of that stereotyped idea are: the apparatus of power and the party have lost authority, instructions and appeals are being ignored and anarchy is dominating the country. The state of disorder has crossed a critical line and cannot be halted. People refuse to work and any group of troublemakers is able to paralyze the production of an enterprise and have its director, foremen and so on thrown out. Personal feuds are increasing. All this is helping paralyze the normal performance of the economic administration. Disorganization has reached a state in which our ability to honor allied obligations can be questioned.

I realize that those who are actively participating in the process of changes will protest. All right, we can point to dozens and dozens of news items, articles and radio and TV programs that tell us of entirely different elements of the country's situation and stress the actual and potential positive changes. Nevertheless, I am inclined to defend my hypothesis that a cohesive vision that is able to compete with the aforementioned "black" stereotyped idea has not as yet been created, within the apparatus of power above all. That is also true of a large part of our society, and even of a large part of the new trade unions.

So much for that stereotyped idea.

What about reality? It is certainly far from ideal and is certainly full of difficulties and traps. It is certainly difficult to understand and is characterized to some extent by the aforementioned elements. But it is a new reality.

It is a fact that we are experiencing a profound social, political and economic crisis. It is also a fact that adapting the new trade unions to the present structures is and will be a source of various conflicts. However, the starting point of all the deliberations about the present events in Poland is the assertion that the present situation is a direct result of the fatal methods of government and management in the past year.

If nothing had happened in August, our indebtedness would not have become smaller and our harvest would not have been better. But if the July wage demands and the ways of meeting them were maintained, inflation would perhaps have now been even greater and would also have disorganized our economy.

We should realize that it was not after last August but in the spring of this year that strikes began to spread and that in July all Poland joined the lines in front of pay offices. The administration at that time was completely irresponsible in ending strikes by granting uncontrolled raises which were often higher than the present wages. Such raises intensified the wage disproportions and completely destroyed any chance to create a reasonable and just wage system.

The new trade unions are not a source of potential threats; they are a chance to halt the process of disorganization, because when it is necessary to negotiate wages with the new trade unions one will not be able to argue that "we cannot afford it" if one does not eliminate waste and abuses, and if one does not implement genuine and not apparent reforms. If we take a look at the past 2 months, we cannot help forming the impression that our situation is dominated by the "black" stereotyped idea with all its consequences: 1) a complex of a beleaguered stronghold and a defensive attitude of the apparatus of power; 2) extreme mutual mistrust in the intentions of the other partner; 3) a lack of initiative and activity.

Weeks and months, which it will be very difficult to catch up with, are passing by. Not even one of the most urgent problems has been solved within that time. This is true in the case of the economy and the improvement of the political climate. If we really honored the realities of our country, then the Solidarity trade unions should have been in action as an equal partner for the past 2 months. All the echelons of power should have taken original measures because only such measures can now win control over the situation. But the fact is that nothing is taking place in many spheres, and even the decisions that are correct and wise are a week or a month too late, or they lack something that could truly help achieve the intended goals, or they are simply sabotaged.

The price we are now paying for having failed to analyze the reasons for the present crisis and for unwillingness to point out the mechanisms and people responsible for the present situation, and for the lack of action programs, is now very high.

On the side of the apparatus of power, the present state of affairs is eroding the authority of the new party and state leadership and is strengthening the position of those who view the post-August events only as a threat to themselves because they know that they are unable to cope with the new situation and that leaving the crisis behind would merely vitiate their personal interests.

On the side of our society, the delays in creating the "rules of the game" as applying to negotiations are increasing tension, disorientation and the new partner's mistrust in the apparatus of power. That partner, who is the Solidarity trade unions, is still not feeling self-assured and strong. All that favors radicalization of attitudes and demands. A vicious circle of frustration is being created. This circle can by itself become a source of new conflicts.

MILITARY DAILY QUESTIONS DEFINITIONS OF 'DEMOCRACY'

AU021507 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 25 Nov 80 P 3

[Commentary signed "Kwiat.": "Whose Democracy?"]

[Text] We are short of many things nowadays, but democracy is not one of them, because there is an abundance of it. What people are not calling for most vehemently is democracy and money.

A plumber who left for a moment the frontline of the struggle for democracy and graciously agreed to replace a valve for a few miserly Z100 banknotes (he had obtained that valve with utmost difficulty from a construction worker) also champions democratic renewal: "Mister, I have to sweat it out for those miserly Z6,000, while they were spending the bucks right and left.... You know, damm it mister, I would send such guys...to work in a quarry, to push a wheelbarrow...."

Everyone talks everywhere about democracy nowadays. There is more democracy than potatoes in the market place..... "Yes, we have hung a cross on the wall," I heard a woman in a horse-drawn cart tell her neighbor, who sold her wares from a Zuk stationwagon. "If those godless ones do not like it, then they do not have to send their children to school!"

While I am writing this, I am being told that Solidarity trade unions in a Jastrzebie coalmine are ready for the worst in order to prevent their colleagues from the miners' trade union from having any say. They are convinced that they are in the majority and that their conferences are a priority!

I saw for myself how a relatively large gathering of reasonable people--the scientific journalists' club--elected, in the majesty of democracy, delegates to the extraordinary congress of the Polish Union of Journalists in a way that completely offended principles of democracy. Someone who thought in the old way, but sensibly, remarked that one cannot regard as democratic elections in which the same journalist votes twice--once in his own editorial board and for the second time in the club. In addition, the statutes in force do not envisage elections in creative clubs (one may belong to several clubs). It is true that the statutes can be abolished, but why struggle with commonsense?

It was decided to elect three candidates. If you are to have renewal then have it. It is not worth bothering about the statutes. [paragraph continues]

When the votes were cast for the second candidate, democracy was still duly respected, but when the vote came to the third candidate, there began an open rape of democracy. Someone protested that the vote should be secret and other people demanded that more candidates should be put forward and that those polling the most votes should take the mandates.

I do not know what the outcome of it all was because I left in anger. I was angry and fed up with the air thick with cigarette smoke. During the discussion, appeals were made--applauded by a minority--for clean air for the nonsmokers, but that right was respected for only a short while.

Everyone is for democracy, but not for everyone. This is precisely the way of politics. In fact, democracy concerns politics, is a question of how government is discharged, and depends on who governs and who is in power. I was taught that democracy always belongs to someone: It is theirs and ours, it is here and there, and it is for us and for them.

Our society's living conditions now are rather difficult, but some people have it easier in a way: They no longer fear proletarian dictatorship, are lapping up democracy and are clamoring for "freedom" and "rights." Whose democracy? For whom? For what? We find an answer to that in various inscriptions and leaflets whose contents I will not reveal because I do not want to frighten the families of the citizens who are the addressees.

Many people are now clamoring for democracy. Even the nationalists have made themselves heard--nationalists not of Polish origin, although history teaches that everyone is the same. They are looking for their own kind. Some want to "settle accounts" for a given year and some for years long gone. As for our own people, they are bringing to light their "historical arguments." Something for everyone.

As a military man, that is, as a man whose life is linked to the state and to one of its major institutions--the bulwark of the apparatus of power and socialist democracy--I watch with concern certain facts. I will not air my views on the antisocialist forces--whether they exist or not. Some people are made nervous by such a question alone. The dispute about the term is important, but is only the term at stake? Let me express at least my fears.

DAILY PLEADS FOR PRIVATE SECTOR INCENTIVES

AU021826 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Nov 80 p 3

[Andrezej Nalecz-Jawecki article: "Handicrafts and Taxes--The Easiest Thing Is To Destroy"]

[Excerpts] In our republic time goes by quickly and we continue to forget the many events of the past that produced great damage. Let us recall those events just now when we are carrying our radical changes, taking stock of the past 10 years and trying to fix the constructive rules of the game in the future.

Some 30 years or so ago, thousands and thousands of small private brickyards were still in operation in the Polish People's Republic. At the time we did not even dream about houses made of concrete or about giant housing settlements made of prefabricated components. Bricks were a universal building material, needed by the country rising from the ruins of war. They were also the backbone of rising industries. Nevertheless, we decided--no, the apparatus of power in the Fifties decided--to liquidate those private brickyards. The main reason for that almost suicidal economic measure was no more and no less than that they were private brickyards. In those half-forgotten years the decision was also made to liquidate private pork butcheries, although they produced quality smoked meat products of excellent flavor. The private owners of fishponds had to surrender their ponds. Why am I recalling all this? The reason is obvious: We are now harvesting the yields of those decisions. The regression in breeding fresh water fish is intensifying; we are still unable to buy bream, pike or even fresh roach in shops.

In the fifties, consistent efforts were made to combat whatever was private. This was true in the food sector and in the production of industrial articles. The "stinking" private sector in services, catering, trade and transportation was being liquidated.

I will be perverse and say that this liquidation could have been justified to some extent; at that time people believed that the socialized firms would be able to replace the private sector. It was only later that it became obvious that the socialized firms found it--to put it mildly--very difficult to do so.

When it was too late, we discovered that it had been a mistake to destroy private initiative; that is, the energy of the individual people who wanted to produce various commodities--at their own cost: That means that they wanted to slave and risk their own money invested in private business. The state refused to be helped and assumed responsibility for absolutely every economic task and for every duty toward the market.

What methods were used to strangle private small production? Firms that employed up to 20 or up to 100 people were just taken over without any ceremony and told that they had to be made state property like any large factory. Later on the most frequent result of such a takeover was that those firms--like those private brickyards--were declared technically backward, unprofitable and so on, and were sooner or later closed down and abandoned.

The very small producers and service providers were christened artisans, but their acceptance was merely apparent; very soon they were subjected to destruction by taxation. The finance authority decided that private artisans were simply minting money and crushed them with taxation without pity until it crushed almost all of them around 1956.

After that we saw reason. Some people gingerly "suggested" that perhaps it would be better if a private tradesman produced and sold sauerkraut than that we should go without sauerkraut. People also saw that a private cabinet maker who knew how to repair furniture and to put a window right was not a bad thing. Other people took a long time to decide that instead of lapping up a horrible potato soup made in the office canteen, it would be nice to eat something good in a private eatery from time to time.

Under the pressure of public opinion and economic facts, the desk-bound specialists in ideology and other theoreticians saw that, in fact, socialism would be none the worse for a bit of a private sector. However, they never renounced their inclination to get at private entrepreneurs. The finance authority thought up the notorious surcharges; up to 1975 such surcharges were charged under the slightest pretext and very often "just in case."

I think that in the present crisis situation of the market, we need an entirely different policy toward handicrafts. Temporary tax concessions for 1 or 2 years should be granted so that private and artisan initiative can be encouraged to further increase the supply of goods and services (also for export). That applies to food handicrafts above all.

If the Central Handicrafts Union (CZR) and the Ministry of Finance are convinced that artisans possess large amounts of money at present, these two institutions should think about something else other than how to deprive the artisans of their money. It is necessary to work out measures that will encourage handicrafts, and private persons to invest (precisely from a private purse and not from state coffers) in developing workshops and in construction of new workshops. That would be an immediate task for those two institutions to work out together.

If we raised taxation as of 1 January 1981, we would throw out the baby with the bath water. I clearly demand: The Ministry of Finance should withdraw the scheme for such taxation.

I also think that the economic reform, now under preparation, should include permanent incentives for development of private initiative and handicrafts, which are in no way a mere periphery of our economy. Failure to see the role of the private sector has been a major mistake, which has been proved by life and not by theory. And it is life that should have the ultimate say in all kinds of disputes about models.

LULINSKI ATTACKS MOCZULSKI'S 'ADVENTURISM'

AU021430 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Nov 80 pp 6,7

[Daniel Lulinski article: "Political Adventurism--Against Polish Interests"]

[Excerpts] Both the government and the trade unions undoubtedly believe that they can work out certain mutual agreements in order to avoid confrontation and to begin lifting Poland out of its profound crisis. That was the gist of a report sent by an American press agency from Warsaw to its headquarters on 11 November. It was the day after the Supreme Court had legalized the activities of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity, which the apparatus of power and society accepted in unity with such satisfaction.

Those who, during domestic tensions, attack the Polish people's moral-political unity on the basic question of our reason of state include a small, noisy group of adventurist members and sympathizers of the antisocialist and illegal organization that carries the presumptuous and misleading name of the Confederation of Independent Poland. Those members and sympathizers are an anachronism in 20th century Poland. The confederation was set up officially on 1 September 1979, but its sponsors had been known before that among the dissident community, which is patronized and inspired by the familiar foreign antisocialist and subversive centers.

The person who proposed to set up the confederation was Leszek Moczulski, who is 50 now. At one time he wrote about history (he was most interested in the rebirth of German imperialism in the FRG and in the role of the Bundeswehr under the leadership of Strauss...) and also helped organize another antisocialist group called the "Movement in Defense of Human and Civic Rights" (ROPCIO).

What political concepts does Moczulski represent in the country? He set them out without any embarrassment in his booklet entitled "Revolution Without Revolution," which was published in the illegal publication "DROGA" (issue seven of June 1979). It represents Moczulski's concept of "struggle" against the socialist system and the PZPR, and of a struggle for power.

Moczulski openly seeks confrontation with the apparatus of power, most frequently on the occasion of certain national historical anniversaries, which he abuses with anti-Soviet and antisocialist activities. He is not shy to exploit the patriotic feelings of politically naive and historically inexperienced young people in order to promote his "confederate" and megalomaniacal goals. He most eagerly veils the adventurist nature of his concepts with phraseology about independence, proclaiming a new "liberation of the country," the overthrow of the PZPR apparatus of power, the genuine restoration of capitalism and of the "Free play of forces," and Poland's exit from the Warsaw Pact, which, side by side with our alliance with the USSR, guarantees the security of our borders and the stabilization of the European balance of power, which is advantageous to us.

In the specific European situation and under the conditions of the irreversibility of the socialist constitutional order in Poland, those slogans and concepts are simply provocative and conflict with the basic interests of Poland and our independence. Also realistic Western commentators evaluate Moczulski's concepts in that way.

Who wants a domestic and international weakening of Poland? Who wants to set it at loggerheads with all its neighbors? That is what Moczulski's and his confederation's pathological aversion to, especially, the Russians and to the other neighboring peoples, boils down to. If he could, he would restore Poland to its 1939 status when we were almost alone and quarreled with our neighbors. Moczulski's confederation also harks back to those Sanacja politicos who left the country on the Zaleszczyki Highway 41 years ago. Moczulski has them in mind when he proclaims his goal of establishing the "third republic" on the ruins of People's Poland. On its ruins, because in his programmatic publication "Revolution Without Revolution" he said quite openly that--despite various stages of "creeping" counterrevolution--"we must not a priori preclude a situation in which various forms of an armed struggle, including a general uprising, may turn out to be the most effective and most necessary method of action."

Every honest Pole gets the creeps when he realizes what Leszek Moczulski is writing about in his goals--the leader of the Confederation of Independent Poland and a champion, as he calls himself, of "national revindication." He is heedless of the natiion's tragic experiences during numerous "general uprisings," which "we must not preclude a priori." That is what has been written by a man who once was head of the history column in the STOLICA weekly, which, as we know, dealt with reconstruction and then the expansion of Warsaw, following the war damage.

PLENUM WILL BE 'UNDOUBTED TURNING POINT'

LD031117 Paris LE FIGARO in French 1 Dec 80 p 3

[Bernard Margueritte Warsaw dispatch: "Warsaw--A Plenum 'Where Anything Can Happen'"]

[Text] The Central Committee plenum which opens in Warsaw today could prove to be of great importance. There can be no doubt that the composition of the Politburo will be considerably changed and it cannot even be ruled out that changes will take place among the party leadership.

In fact, this plenum is taking place at a time when great disorder certainly prevails within the party on the one hand and when very intensive activities are taking place, especially at the grassroot cell level, on the other hand. It seems very probable that Prime Minister Pinkowski and three other leaders will be dismissed from the Politburo while two other personalities--Wojtaszek, who is in charge of foreign affairs, and Kowalczyk, who is responsible for security--are also threatened. Furthermore, there can be no doubt that Pinkowski will not be able to remain prime minister for much longer.

Who could replace the departing leaders? Among people mentioned most often are General Moczar, POLITYKA Chief Editor Rakowski, Warsaw and Gdansk First Secretaries Kociolek and Fiszbach and, maybe, culture Minister Tejchma. It is also being said that one or two workers should be appointed Politburo members.

Seventy cells belonging to the Warsaw party organization have created, independently of the regional official committee, a "coordination commission." A similar development has taken place in several other cities. In Torun, Coordination Commission Chairman Ivano [as published], who was excluded from the party on the central authorities' instructions, has just been reinstated by his cell. All these organizations demand that a congress be held soon. Fearing that it may not be convened at all, they have even threatened that they might organize their own, independent congress. Some organizations have bluntly suggested that a new party should be formed.

Furthermore, increasing pressure is being applied with a view to ensuring that the party puts an end both to its own passiveness and to the anarchy spreading through the country. All this means that the advocates of a resumption of control are now numerous and influential. This could recently be observed during a very lively meeting of the Krakow Voivodship committee and also in Lodz where the party organ's chief editor, who published an article disclosing information about the leaders' income, was dismissed from office.

Criticisms, sometimes severe, are being expressed increasingly openly with respect to the present party leadership which is mainly blamed for having been incapable of preparing any consistent program during the past 3 months on the one hand and for showing unpardonable weakness, as it could again be seen in connection with the Narozniak affair, on the other hand. Activists are tired of belonging to a party which has continually been giving ground and has continually been ready to capitulate under threat. Such criticisms were again very violently expressed on Friday, at a meeting of regional first secretaries. True, they were not aimed personally at Kania who, as I was jokingly told by an eminent Central Committee member, "would certainly be an archangel if a paradise for communist activists existed," but referred to the policy which he has so far pursued.

A Mr "X"

In these conditions, the Central Committee is already seeking a Mr "X" who could extricate the party and the country from the rut. What characteristic features should he have? He should be able to achieve four objectives:

First, rid the party of its corrupt and incompetent members and, especially, draw the necessary conclusions with respect to former leaders;

Second, achieve broad national unity among reasonable patriots;

Third, pursue a renewal and democratization policy; and

Fourth, pursue a firm policy which would ensure that discipline again prevails in the country.

With reference to this, it is characteristic that the communique announcing the convening of the plenum mentioned "the struggle for the socialist character of the renewal."

So who could become this Mr "X"? Let us state without taking any undue risk that three personalities spring to mind:

First, Kania, provided that he agrees to lead the party more firmly than hitherto and to introduce into his program features desired by other forces in the party, especially features connected with maintaining discipline and firmness.

Second, there is General Moczar whose prestige has been continually growing in the country. Obviously, the general would be the man best placed to achieve the first objective in view of the fact that he has been chairman of the auditing office, if for no other reason. Furthermore, General Moczar has placed his entire political action under the sign of patriotic assertion. His accession to power at a time when the entire country is celebrating with emotion the anniversary of the November 1830 insurrection against the tzarist occupier would be eminently symbolic.

Obviously, he would have to form a partnership with some pragmatic leaders able to determine an economic policy. Stefan Olszowski immediately springs to mind in this connection. Some eminent party personalities have even asserted that an agreement between the two men has already been concluded and that if General Moczar were to become first secretary, Olszowski would soon be appointed premier. Furthermore, such a solution would be supported by Defense Minister General Jaruzelski and the entire army which has been showing increasingly marked impatience at continuing disorder.

And then there is Olszowski himself who could combine further renewal with a policy of firmness but who still seems at present to have too many adversaries in the party.

Be that as it may, this plenum will be of extreme importance for the country's future and will mark, irrespective of its conclusion, an undoubted turning point. However, it is necessary to show much caution as far as making predictions is concerned. In the past 48 hours I have met with half a dozen eminent members of the Central Committee. All our talks ended with the following admission on the part of my interlocutors: "Anyway, in the present situation, really anything can happen during this plenum." In fact, confusion and agitation have probably never been as great as they are now both in the party and in the country.

LODZ PAPER DEMANDS FAR-REACHING PARTY CHANGES

LD021631 Paris LE MONDE in French 2 Dec 80 p 3

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "Mr Kania Defends His Policy to the PZPR Central Committee"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw--The radicalization of party members began to emerge strongly during the regional meetings organized at the beginning of November in the presence of leadership members. Then violent attacks, of which watered-down versions appeared in the press, were launched on the lack of democracy in the way in which the PZPR is run and the resultant isolation of the party. Mid-November saw the emergence in several cities of the first signs of horizontal coordination created spontaneously outside the normal heirarchy by dissident cells, which rapidly became powerful centers in the face of which intermediate-level leaders had to back down or were simply ousted.

Such coordination apparently exists, to very different degrees, in 17 voivodships, and the expulsion last week of one of the leaders of the Torun cell for "factionalism and clericalism" is meeting with opposition from members. Finally, on Friday, a new and spectacular step was taken in Lodz with the publication by the local party newspaper GLOS ROBOTNICZY of motions passed by enterprise cells which go far beyond the accepted limits.

The (Fonica) factory cell, for instance, demanded a "purge" of the party, to take place on the occasion of the PZPR's transformation into a Polish socialist workers' party. This transformation, the workers think, would make it possible to return to the "good traditions" of the Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Workers' Party (communist), whose forced merger in 1948 gave birth to the PZPR. The party, the cell adds, could thus "cure the incurable illness which is destroying it: sectarianism," which is reflected in "lack of confidence in the people, intolerance of any form of autonomy, the appointment of safe and servile people to positions of responsibility, the manipulation of the media and the monopoly of power."

The Lodz party members also think that the leadership role should no longer be wielded by the PZPR but "jointly" assumed with the two other legal parties--The United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party; that the leadership is "stalling" even though time is short ("either it fails to realize the danger of the situation or it lacks political competence"); and that "free elections" should be held at all levels of the party. After demanding that the congress be convened in January and that it elect a "new and competent political leadership," these party members conclude by demanding the installation of "authentic socialism." They write: "The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be dictatorship against the proletariat."

As far as we can tell there is no other case of such a bold text being published in the party press, but there is no doubt that this state of mind reigns in many other cells aside from the Lodz cell. The awakening of the grassroots which is desired by Mr Kania and part of the Politburo and which is vital to the election of the new Central Committee has taken a disturbing turn in the past few months owing to the party's ultraconservatism. Its impetus is in fact in danger of sparking off the opposite reaction and hence preventing any possibility of change in the party and any possibility of peaceful change in the country. At the same time any new stalling would be bound to aggravate the crisis: Change is now more difficult, although it has not become impossible.

KALABINSKI VIEWS DANGERS OF CENSORSHIP

LD022052 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Jack Kalabinski commentary]

[Text] You have a right to hold a differing view on this [unspecified] issue, writes one of our listeners, but your view is your private judgement and as such should not be voiced on the air. End of quotation. The issue that was involved here is of no importance; what is more important or even very important is the general assertion: There is no room on the air for private views.

To put it this way amounts to saying that every citizen has a right to his views except those citizens who speak publically about public matters. Journalists do it all the time in line with their profession. When all is said and done, that is the essence of our profession. To deprive us of this ability would reduce journalists to the role of lecturers reading official statements.

I selected our listeners' sentence from a long letter which starts by citing the well-known saying that where everyone thinks the same no one is really thinking. This makes me think that our listeners had gone too far in his polemical enthusiasm, that he wrote something that he does not, in fact, believe.

But we all know, from painful experience people who do think in this way. At the beginning of the seventies (Jacek Majoracki) was deprived of the right to produce radio discussion programs. The decision was explained thusly: After all, he is simply slipping in his own views.

We know very well what happens when it is impossible to express one's own views. With a great degree of likelihood one can say that our economic situation would not be as desperate as it is had it been possible in the seventies to hold and voice one's own views on economic measures adopted by the team in power at that time.

But where do these attitudes originate? Jan Strzelcki, the eminent sociolist, wrote in 1946 about the danger of dealing with people mechanically. The situation in any political confrontation creates the temptation to adopt an attitude which can be summed up as a tendency to regard all those who hold different views as political opponents. Those who are not with us are against us.

While not denying the fact that opponents do exist in politics, I see danger primarily in the fact that politicians see the greatest danger from people who do not share their view of the world in black and white terms. After all people who hold a different view may be right and, if that is the case, they have every right to put their view forward.

In order that the outside world is not seen as a frontline and people as either ours or enemies, it is necessary to listen to all kinds of opinions and give others the right to hold them, and also the right to state them in public. Otherwise we would have to close all newspapers and publish only POLSKI MONITOR, the only publication which contains only facts and no opinions, and only accomplished facts at that.

GDR CLOSES BORDER TO FOREIGN OBSERVERS

LD021812 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1700 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Poland: At the same time as the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party is meeting in Warsaw there are increasing signs indicating that the threat of an invasion by the other Warsaw Pact countries is greater than ever. The latest sign is that the entire border between the GDR and Poland has now been closed to foreign military observers. Here is a report by (Stefan Ikandahl), our correspondent in Warsaw:

During the autumn, the threat of a Warsaw Pact invasion has increased concurrently with the changes in Poland. According to military sources, Soviet troops have now made such preparations that they are, generally speaking, ready to march if ordered. The populations in the GDR, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union have, through an intensive campaign during the past few weeks, been prepared against the developments in Poland. Now the border between the GDR and Poland has been closed to foreign observers.

Here in Poland, everyone agrees with what can happen if the leaders in Moscow consider that the developments have got out of the hands of the Polish Communist Party. (?In that knowledge) everyone says loud and clear that Poland will not be another Czechoslovakia; Poland will defend itself. No one seriously believes that Poland can defend itself for any length of time, but the will to defend itself may, however, have a restraining effect.

Another restraining factor must be the uncertainty of what would follow a military invasion. In plain language, how would the Soviet leaders be able to find a quisling who would bring order into Poland's affairs. There is no answer to the question, at least not today. And in the end, what is likely to be decisive, despite everything, is the Soviet Union's purely military, security thinking. Short-term political problems may have to be pushed into the background for military considerations.

Developments in Poland following the current meeting of the Central Committee are likely to be decisive, the path of which will be chosen by the Soviet leaders.

JABLONSKI RECEIVES SRV ENVOY NGUYEN NGOC UYEN

OW281547 Hanoi VNA in English 1521 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] Hanoi, VNA Nov 28--Henryk Jablonski, president of the State Council, and Political Bureau member of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, on Nov 26 received Vietnamese Ambassador Nguyen Ngoc Uyen.

President Jablonski informed the Vietnamese diplomat about the situation in Poland. He stressed that socialism has taken deep roots in the conscience of the Polish people, and that Poland will continue its advance to socialism in spite of all hardships and trials.

The Polish president expressed his profound sympathy with and total support for Vietnam's struggle to defend national independence and sovereignty. He expressed the wish that the friendship and fraternal cooperation between the two countries would further develop for the benefits of the two peoples.

TRADE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH BULGARIA ON FOOD, MEDICINE

LD292026 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] A protocol has been signed today between Poland and Bulgaria on mutual deliveries of goods and on payments in the coming year. Special stress was laid on the supplies of goods to the home markets and of industrial goods supplied within the framework of cooperation. Of market goods we shall receive from Bulgaria, among other things: fresh fruit and vegetables, processed fruit and vegetables and wine. Also imports of pharmaceuticals, mainly antibiotics, will increase. Polish-Bulgarian trade exchange will amount in the coming year to nearly 2.3 billion foreign currency zlotys.

TRADE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH ALBANIA IN WARSAW

AU281643 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] Tirana, 28 Nov (ATA)--The protocol on goods exchanges and payments between the government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the government of the People's Republic of Poland for the year 1981 was signed in Warsaw.

The protocol was signed, for the Albanian side, by the vice-minister of foreign trade, Marko Xega and, for the Polish side, by the vice-minister of the foreign trade and maritime economy, Wladislaw Griazda.

Attending the signing ceremony were the members of the two delegations. The interim charge d'affaires of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the People's Republic of Poland, Llazar Muco, was also present.

Upon its stay in Warsaw, the delegation was received by the minister of foreign trade and maritime economy of the People's Republic of Poland, Ryszard Karski.

LETTERS EXCHANGED ON VATICAN NEWSPAPER SALES IN POLAND

AU261443 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22-23 Nov 80 p 7

[PAP report: "Polish-Vatican Agreement"]

[Text] The Vatican (PAP)--The Vatican has announced that on 21 November Poland and the Vatican exchanged letters on the question of allowing the Polish edition of OSSERVATORE ROMANO to be sold in Poland.

The letters in question were signed for Poland by Minister Plenipotentiary Kazimierz Szablewski, head of the Polish mission for permanent working contacts with the Holy See, and for the Vatican by Archbishop Luigi Poggi, papal nuncio for special missions and chairman of the Holy See's delegation for permanent working contacts with the government of the Polish People's Republic.

WALESA ON POSSIBLE INTERVENTION, UNION INFILTRATION

LD021221 Paris FRANCE-SOIR in French 2 Dec 80 pp 1-2

[Part I of Francois Corre Interview with Polish Solidarity trade union leader Lech Walesa in Gdansk: "Walesa: The Battle Will Continue to the End With or Without Me"--date not given]

[Excerpt] Francois Corre: There is one question which is being asked a great deal in the West, Lech Walesa: Is Poland in danger of invasion by the Soviets?

Lech Walesa: I personally do not think so. I am even convinced that the reverse is true [presumably, that there is no danger whatsoever of Soviet invasion]. There is no point discussing this question. There will never be a foreign intervention.

Specific Threats

Francois Corre: Czechoslovak and East German leaders have nonetheless made threatening statements.

Lech Walesa: That is all just histrionics. They are shouting simply to frighten people. Moreover, it is not very nice to try to frighten your friends.

Francois Corre: Very specific threats have been made. Polish Communist Party spokesman Josef Klasa said 24 November: "Our neighbor is worried. If it is forced to intervene it will do so with regret, with a heavy heart, but it will do so." Was that just histrionics too?

Lech Walesa: [He remained silent for a few seconds--Corre note] I do not wish to talk about that. It is not the right time to discuss it. It is not a good thing to keep mentioning this problem. People in West Europe think about nothing but that and they are wrong. What you can say is that we will continue our battle to the end. We will finish what we have started. If there is a foreign intervention, I will march in the frontline to meet the tanks.

I Sat Down and Wept

Francois Corre: There is a rumor going round in Poland that Polish Army uniforms have been exported to the East in the past few weeks.

Lech Walesa (He smiled--Corre note): It is true that despite our economic climate we are still exporting some products.

Francois Corre: Are you exporting uniforms?

Lech Walesa: I have told you that I do not believe there will be an intervention. It is a hypothesis which we are completely disregarding.

Francois Corre: However, if you were no longer able to control the grassroots would an intervention not become inevitable?

Lech Walesa: I will never lose control over the grassroots.

Francois Corre: Yet strikes have broken out in the past few days even though Solidarity did not approve of them.

Lech Walesa: You have to understand people. They are exasperated. They cannot stand any more. They have been at breaking point for years. Even though 80-90 percent of some demands has been satisfied, the things which have not been satisfied haunt them. You have to understand that. There are also sectors which have received satisfaction and other sectors for which nothing has been done. That creates tensions. Yes, it must be admitted that there are people who have simply been forgotten. [paragraph continues]

When I visited the cooperative of people who have been disabled by industrial injuries the only thing I could do was sit down on the ground and weep. Nobody has bothered about them. They are in deplorable conditions.

Therefore you have to understand those people who feel exasperated.

Then there are all these attacks on us. All kinds of actions are being instigated against Solidarity. They want to tire people, to exhaust, discourage and confuse them. They are deliberately creating a threatening, unhealthy and frightening atmosphere. Sometimes they provoke us, sometimes they give us a free hand. The lack of real information makes things very confused and very difficult. Moreover there is not just a lack of information. There is really "misinformation." People are being deceived, and therefore they sometimes no longer know where they stand. They no longer know why they are fighting; they lose sight of their specific objectives.

Francois Corre: You are the moderating element at the moment. You are more moderate than your grassroots....

Lech Walesa: I honestly do not know where I stand. I do not know whether I am more or less radical than the grassroots. I do not know whether I am a moderating influence. I have no very specific criteria on what should be demanded and what we should not ask. I myself do not know how I define my attitude. I have no preconceived plan. I take each day as it comes and move forward step by step. All I know is that I am right and I am in the right. I feel strong in my decisions and sturdy in my approach. I look at the problems one after the other, as they arise. In any case you can be sure of one thing: I will continue this battle right to its end.

Provocateurs

Francois Corre: Nonetheless you are the man who is prevenging the working class from exploding. When you analyze the situation in Poland it could be concluded that there is a kind of de facto "connivance" between you and the Polish and Soviet leaders. If you did not exist they would be faced with a much more dangerous situation. They would not have any valid interlocutor. In the final analysis Leonid Brezhnev must be pleased that you exist....

Lech Walesa: I am not sure of that but I know one thing: With or without me the battle will continue to the end, Poland's revival will continue and will carry on to its conclusion.

Francois Corre: You are at the mercy of provocateurs. Are there provocateurs in Solidarity?

Lech Walesa (He smiled--Corre note): You must admit that it would be very strange if they had not managed to infiltrate some provocateurs among us.

Whatever the facts are, those provocateurs have not done anything yet. At present we are not worrying about them. We cannot protect ourselves against their actions. However, if they show themselves one day then they will see what Solidarity is made of.

To tell the truth, I expect provocations here in Gdansk. I think they will try that. They could pay dearly for the attempt!

Francois Corre: Are you sure that provocations are not likely to make you lose control of the grassroots?

Lech Walesa: It is impossible. We have an irreplaceable advantage: We have nothing to hide. We are entirely honest. We are acting in the open. People are forced to notice that. If some people were to deviate, we would split from them, we would not follow them, we would stay with the masses. The good and reasonable people always outnumber the others.

Hitting Below the Belt

Francois Corre: Are the authorities playing the game with Solidarity or are they hitting below the belt?

Lech Walesa: There are problems in implementing the Gdansk agreements as regards wage increases. Not everything has been settled.

Francois Corre: Have you received the printing machines which foreign trade unions had sent you?

Lech Walesa: We have 10 of them. We have still to receive another 20.

Francois Corre: Can you use your members' trade union subscriptions? I believe that the free trade unions now have 8 million members and the old trade unions 4 million, of which, it is said, the majority are retired people who are staying in those unions for fear of having their livelihood cut off.

Lech Walesa: What are the old trade unions? Where have you seen an old trade union? The old trade unions are skeletons. They are dead. What remains in these old trade unions? Activists and leaders. In the steelworks, the shipyards, the railroads, all the sectors which count, the free trade unions have 80-90 percent of the members.

All the journalists on the magazine KULTURA have joined the free trade unions. Only the chief editor remained in the old trade union.

At the beginning we wanted to cooperate with the old trade unions. We tried but they declared war on us. Moreover their attitude is logical: They know they are in an inferior position so they have to behave badly.

WALESA VISITS KONIN, SPEAKS ON DEVELOPMENT

LD011644 Poznan Domestic Service in Polish 1550 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] The morning press reports that a delegation of the National Coordinating Commission (KKP) of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity visited Konin yesterday. It was lead by its Chairman Lech Walesa.

With him were also activists already well-known in the new union movement: Anna Walentynowicz, Alina Pienkowska, Andrzej Kolodziej and Bohdan Borusewicz.

The details of the visit are familiar. At noon the delegation and the members of Solidarity from Konin went to hear mass in the church at Lichen, the venue of numerous pilgramages to the picture of Our Lady of Lichen. In the afternoon a meeting with the people of Konin took place in the sports hall of the voivodship culture house which was filled to capacity. The speaker was Lech Walesa.

It appears that the most essential questions dealt with at this meeting consist of the further development, the mode of organization and consolidation of Solidarity. Vigilance toward provocation, prudence and analysis of the purposefulness of many strikes and, above all, the taking advantage of the opportunity which has opened before the country--these are matters for which we are all responsible. The activities of Solidarity cannot and will not be decided by any decisions imposed from above. The union's model of work will be shaped from below by the members themselves. The supreme objective is the good and progress of the country. We are, above all, divisions, Poles.

That is why Solidarity has no intention of judging or punishing anyone. It is a union movement of working people whose task is the defense of working class interests.

The meeting also discussed preparations for the solemn unveiling of the fallen shipbuilders [monument] in Gdansk on 15 December

GDANSK SHIPYARD MONUMENT WORK IN PROGRESS

LD011526 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] The fundamental part of the assembly work on the site of the monument to the victims of December in Gdansk has been started. The first of the 40-meter high crosses which will form the basic shape of the monument is standing in front of the Gdansk shipyard gate. The monument will be unveiled on 16 December.

'CERTIFIED' RULES OF SOLIDARITY UNION PUBLISHED

LD021001 Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 17 Nov 80 pp 3-4

[Text of "Rules of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity (From the Records of the Action Heard at Warsaw Voivodship Court, Petition No I NS-RZ-15/80, Pages 6-12)"]

[Text] Chapter I. Name, Sphere of Activities and Headquarters.

Section 1.

A trade union organization called the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity--henceforth to be referred to as "the union"--is being created.

In accordance with principles expressed in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, in ILO conventions 87 and 98, which were ratified by the Polish People's Republic, and in Part 1, sections 1-7, of the agreement concluded between the Inter-factory Strike Committee and the government commission in Gdansk (see annex), the union's activities will relate to the defense of workers' interests and to fulfilling their material, social and cultural needs.

Section 2.

The union's activities are to take place on the territory of the Polish People's Republic.

Section 3.

The headquarters of the union's National Commission are in Gdansk.

Chapter II. General Provisions.

Section 4.

The union is independent of state administration organs and political organizations.

Section 5.

The union membership is open to workers employed on the basis of work agreements (including work agreements in cooperatives, whereas in agricultural production cooperatives it is open to workers employed on the basis of membership), elections, drafts and nominations and also to students attending enterprise-run vocational schools working for the relevant enterprise or being taught a trade, people engaged in publishing work [praca nakladcza] and people employed on the basis of agency agreements. Loss of employment does not entail loss of membership. Retired people and pensioners can also be members of the union.

Section 6.

The union's objectives are: the protection of workers' rights, dignity and interests with special reference to:

1--Protecting the material, social and cultural interests of members and their families;

2--Protecting workers' rights in connection with vocational work carried out, wages, social and living conditions, and work safety and hygiene;

3--Seeking to harmonize correct activities in enterprises with workers' interests;

4--Consolidating families and protecting family life;

5--Propagating democratic principles and developing solidarity in mutual relations among colleagues;

6--Ensuring for the workers conditions for improving their vocational qualifications;

7--Influencing the shaping of economic and social policy;

8--Shaping an active attitude to activities for the country's good.

Section 7.

The union is to achieve its objectives by:

1--Representing its members before employers, state administration officials and organs, and social organizations and institutions;

2--Concluding and terminating collective labor agreements;

3--Providing legal aid and intervention in the event of any conflict between worker and employer;

4--Organizing and leading protest actions by the labor force in the event of any real violation of workers' interests and proclaiming strikes in especially well-founded cases;

5--Initiating self-aid among union members;

6--Acting with a view to ensuring worker vacations for members and their families, fulfilling their needs in the sphere of housing, ensuring places in nurseries and kindergartens for their children and ensuring that they adequately share benefits from the social fund and other enterprise funds;

7--Combating alcoholism;

8--Supporting initiatives aimed at rendering the economy more effective, developing culture, education and learning, and ensuring technical progress;

9--Engaging in educational and cultural activities and creating preconditions for leisure after work;

10--Cooperating with state administration officials and organs within the purview of legal regulations;

11--Exercising control over labor safety and hygiene conditions, ensuring periodical checks on workplaces and forbidding its members to work at places not fulfilling agreed conditions;

12--Cooperating with the health service to protect the health of workers and their families;

13--Studying the living conditions of all workers, especially the level of living costs;

14--Engaging in publishing and press activities;

15--Openly expressing its opinion on projects and regulations concerning the life of the working people, the workers' representation, worker participation in management, social legislation and key decisions relating to the distribution of national revenue, investment trends, distribution of the social fund, market supplies, the housing policy, the shaping of prices and wages and other problems material to the working people.

Section 8.

I. Union members are to be organized on a territorial and trade basis. This means that:

1--Union membership is open to members of any trade;

2--Enterprise organizations open to members of all trades employed in any given enterprise are to be basic union organizations;

3--Whenever necessary, enterprise union organizations will establish lower-level cells; workers employed by small enterprises can create interfactory union organizations which can be joined by workers employed by enterprises in which no union organization exists;

4--Trade and craft sections will be able to engage in activities at all levels within the framework of the union. Trade sections are to include workers employed in one trade or several related trades.

II. The union may conclude cooperation agreements with trade unions representing workers exercising one trade or several related trades provided that the rules and activities of these unions are consistent with its basic principles as defined in the present rules.

Section 9.

Union officials at all levels are to be elected. Elections are to take place in accordance with the following principles:

1--No limit must be imposed on the number of candidates.

2--Votes are cast for individual candidates.

3--Voting is secret.

4--All chairmen other than the National Commission chairman are to be elected by direct vote of a plenum of the organization's relevant echelon.

5--The same union office can be held for only two consecutive terms.

6--No person occupying any executive position in the given enterprise (directors, deputy directors, managers and deputy managers of enterprises, department heads in big enterprises and also people in managerial positions directly subordinate to the management) or holding an executive position in a political organization can become a union official.

7--Any dismissal of union officials is to take place in accordance with principles similar to those governing their election.

Section 10.

Union cells are to be established on the initiative of the workers concerned, who are to create enterprise founding committees with this aim in mind. The regional union authorities must be notified of the creation of any enterprise cell.

Chapter III. Members, Their Rights and Their Duties.

Section 11.

Any union member has the right:

1--To participate in general union meetings;

2--To elect or dismiss any union official and to be elected in his place;

3--To participate in determining instructions for elected delegates;

4--To avail himself of union support with a view to protecting his rights as a worker in the event of their violation either by the enterprise concerned or by the state authorities; in such cases the union will be duty-bound to use any means available to it, including strike action.

The union has the right to intervene and give assistance in the event of any violation of any of the other rights of a union member.

5--To receive grants in connection with the birth of a child or the death of any member of his family; in the event of the death of a union member, his family is to receive a grant;

6--To receive from the union financial help whenever he is unemployed as a result of union activities and also under especially well-substantiated circumstances beyond his control. The scope and form of any aid are to be determined by the general meeting of the union's appropriate echelon;

7--To avail himself of the union's help in the social sphere and of cultural and sport facilities and so forth which the union may have at its disposal;

8--To submit proposals and requests to union authorities at all levels;

9--To be immediately informed about all decisions and other activities by all union echelons;

10--To participate in meetings at which union authorities adopt resolutions concerning him personally.

Section 12.

Any union member is duty bound:

1--To abide by the provisions of the rules and by resolutions adopted by the union authorities and to regularly pay membership contributions;

2--To participate in union activities;

3--To participate in a spirit of solidarity in any action taken by the union;

4--To cooperate with a view to establishing correct relations among members of his workforce in their daily life.

Section 13.

No member of the union can belong to any other trade union.

Section 14.

Union membership is acquired as soon as an application for membership is accepted as a result of a decision made by the appropriate enterprise (interfactory or departmental) commission. In the event that his application for union membership is rejected, the applicant has the right to appeal to a general meeting of the enterprise organization concerned.

Section 15.

1--Union membership lapses as soon as it is relinquished.

2--Any member who persistently shirks a member's duties or acts in a way inconsistent with the dignity of a union member can be punished by the appropriate enterprise (interfactory or departmental) commission, which can either reprimand him or, under exceptional circumstances, deprive him of his membership. The person concerned has the right to appeal to a general meeting of the enterprise (interfactory or departmental) organization.

Section 16.

Enterprise, interfactory and departmental commissions are to keep records of their members and issue membership cards.

Chapter IV. Union Leadership.

Section 17.

Overall union leadership is to consist of:

1--A congress of delegates;

2--A national commission;

3--A committee of auditors.

Section 18.

I. Congress is empowered:

1--To adopt resolutions amending the rules;

2--To adopt a general program for union activities;

3--To determine the upper and lower limits of members' contributions;

4--To elect members of the National Commission in accordance with the provisions contained in Section 19, Paragraph 3 and to elect members of the Committee of Auditors;

5--To examine reports by the National Commission and the Committee of Auditors.

II. The congress is to meet every 2 years. It is to be convened by the National Commission. The National Commission is to convene an extraordinary congress within 3 months from the moment when at least one-third of regional executives put forward a motion requesting one.

III. Delegates representing the union's regional organizations elected at regional general meetings are to participate in the congress. The method of their selection and the number of delegates from individual regional organizations is to be determined by the National Commission in proportion to the number of members in the respective regions.

IV. The presence of at least one-half of delegates is needed to make any resolution adopted by the congress valid.

V. The congress is to adopt motions by a simple majority of the votes cast. Resolutions concerning any change in the rules or providing for terminating the existence of the union require an absolute majority of the votes cast by delegates entitled to participate in the congress. Such resolutions are to become valid as soon as they are confirmed by at least one-half of regional executives representing at least one-half of union members.

VI. Motions are to be adopted by open ballot. The chairman of the congress is to order a secret ballot if at least one-tenth of the delegates present demand it.

Section 19.

I. The following falls within the scope of the National Commission's activities:

1--Representation of the entire congress before state and economic administration authorities and organs and also other organizations and institutions;

2--Coordination of the activities of the union's regional organizations;

3--Adoption of the budget;

4--Determination of principles governing the creation of craft and trade branches;

5--Conclusion of collective agreements;

6--Election of the chairman of the National Commission and Presidium members.

II. The Presidium is to ensure that the National Commission's resolutions are implemented, to supervise office work and to deal with legal matters.

III. The National Commission is to consist of members:

1--One-half of whom are to be chairmen of the union's regional organization executives (in the event of the absence of any chairman, a member of the relevant regional executive Presidium appointed delegate by that Presidium can participate in the National Commission meeting).

2--The other half of whom are to be elected by the congress.

IV. The National Commission is to be elected for 2 years.

Section 20.

The Committee of Auditors is to supervise and control the National Commission's financial activities.

Section 21.

The union's regional leadership is to consist of:

1--A general meeting of delegates;

2--An executive;

3--The relevant executive's Presidium;

4--A Committee of Auditors.

Section 22.

I. The following activities are to be within the province of general meetings of delegates:

1--Adoption of programs for the activities of the union's regional organizations;

2--Election of the chairman and members of the executive and also of members of committees of auditors of the union's regional organizations;

3--Election of delegates to union congresses;

4--Scrutiny of reports submitted by the executive and the Committee of Auditors and adoption of the executive's annual reports;

5--Determination of members' contributions within limits determined by the congress (Section 18, Paragraph 1, Point 3).

II. A general meeting of delegates is to take place every 2 years. Executives are to convene an extraordinary meeting on their own initiative at the request either of the Committee of Auditors or of enterprise (interfactory of departmental) commissions representing at least one-fifth of the relevant regional union organization's members.

In the event of the executive's failing to convene an extraordinary general meeting of delegates within 1 month from the day when the request was made, the Committee of Auditors is to convene one.

III. Delegates from union organizations are to participate in general meetings of delegates. The method of their selection and the number of delegates representing any given organization will be determined by the relevant executive in proportion to the number of members.

IV. The presence of at least one-half of the delegates will be required to ensure the validity of resolutions adopted at a general meeting of delegates.

V. A general meeting of delegates is to adopt resolutions by a simple majority of the votes cast by those attending.

VI. Resolutions are to be adopted in accordance with the rules stated in Section 18, Paragraph 6.

Section 23.

I. The following activities fall within the executive's province:

1--Election of members of the executive Presidium, with the exception of its chairman;

2--Representation of the union's regional organizations before state and economic administration authorities and organs and also before other organizations and institutions;

3--Determination of guidelines for the activities of the union's regional organizations;

4--Periodical assessment of work done by the executive Presidium;

5--Adoption of the regional organization's budget;

6--Adoption of decisions relating to strikes at the Presidium's request.

II. General meetings of delegates are to determine the number of members of the executive and its Presidium.

III. The executive is to be elected every 2 years.

Section 24.

The following activites fall within the province of Presidiums:

1--Supervision of current activities of the union's regional organizations in accordance with resolutions adopted by general meetings of delegates and the executive's guidelines;

2--Dealing with legal matters;

3--Adopting decisions relating to strike action at the request of enterprise organizations (Section 33, Paragraph 2) and submitting to the executive proposals relating to strike action in other cases.

Section 25.

1--The Committee of Auditors is to supervise and control the financial activities of the executive and its Presidium.

2--General meetings of delegates are to determine the number of commission members.

3--The Committee of Auditors is to be elected for 2 years.

Section 26.

I. The leadership of enterprise organization is to preside over:

1--The meeting of enterprise members or, in the event of the number of members in the enterprise exceeding 500, the meeting of enterprise delegates;

2--The enterprise commission and its Presidium;

3--The enterprise Committee of Auditors.

II. The relevant clauses of the rules relating to the leadership of the union's regional organizations are to be applied to the powers and functions of enterprise leadership, with the proviso that:

1--Enterprise meetings of members (delegates) are to set up departmental organizations and to determine the inner structure of enterprise organizations;

2--The following activities are also to fall within the province of commissions:

A--Participation in the issuing of enterprise rules and regulations;

B--Adoption of resolutions relating to the use of social and housing funds insofar as this falls within the province of trade unions according to regulations now in force;

C--Adoption of resolutions concerning employment, promotion, incentive systems and rewards for workers and also cancellation of work agreements insofar as this is consistent with labor law regulations; in bigger enterprises, these tasks are to be carried out by departmental commissions and presidiums of enterprise commissions;

D--Control over the activities of its members representing enterprise employees as a whole and providing binding guidelines for them.

3--The number of leadership members, which has been mentioned in Paragraph 1, Points 2-3, is to be determined at enterprise meetings of members (delegates).

Section 27.

Relevant rules relating to enterprise organizations are to be applied to the leadership of interfactory organizations, their spheres of activities and their functioning.

Section 28.

1--Chairmen or deputy chairmen elected at general meetings of club members are to supervise those circles and their activities.

2--Club chairmen are to play a consultative role with respect to their clubs' and club members' affairs.

3--In smaller enterprises (branches and centers), the enterprise, departmental or interfactory commission will be able to request club chairmen to deal with matters determined in Section 26, Paragraph 2, Point 2, Letter C.

Chapter V. Trade and Craft [Branzowe] Sections.

Section 29.

Trade and craft sections at a regional level are to be set up by the union's regional executives on the initiative of union organizations in enterprises. Following agreements among sections at a regional level, the National Commission is to set up trade and craft sections at a national level.

Section 30.

The structure and the principles governing the establishment, functioning and election of the leadership of trade and craft sections are to be determined by internal rules adopted by the National Commission.

Section 31.

The leaderships of trade and craft sections are to prepare or vet draft collective employment agreements. The National Commission will be able to authorize the leadership of these sections to conclude collective employment agreements on its behalf.

Chapter VI. Strikes.

Section 32.

After exhausting other forms of action, the union can take strike action.

Section 33.

I. A strike can be either a warning or a proper strike:

1--Whenever circumstances allow, a proper strike should be preceded by a warning strike;

2--A warning strike should last no longer than one-half of a working day;

3--A proper strike is to continue until the moment when the appropriate union authorities call it off. A strike's conclusion can be the subject of an agreement either with the relevant employer or with state authorities.

II. If a strike is caused by a conflict in one enterprise, a strike can be called only as a result of a proposal adopted by an absolute majority of the members of the union's enterprise organization.

III. If a strike is caused by circumstances other than those mentioned under Paragraph 2, it is up to the leadership of the regional organization to decide whether it is to take place and, at the same time, to determine the strike's range.

IV. In the event of any repressive steps being taken with respect to the union's leadership, making it impossible for it to make an appropriate decision, the workforce of enterprises will have the right to take immediate strike action.

V. If calling a strike in one enterprise fails to bring any result, the union leadership will have the right to call a solidarity strike.

Section 34.

The above provisions cannot be applied to workers in enterprises who are not allowed to strike because of the kind of work they do. A solidarity strike can be called in support of their demands.

Chapter VII. Center for Social and Trade Work and Publishing.

Section 35.

1--A center for social and trade work is to engage in its activities within the framework of the union. It is to study living and working conditions and living costs for workers as a whole and to prepare expert appraisals of socioeconomic policy in accordance with the union's requirements.

2--The Presidium of the union's National Commission is to determine the structure of the center, its functioning and its funds.

3--The union's regional organizations will be able to set up similar centers which will deal with problems concerning the relevant regions, trades and crafts.

Section 36.

The union is to have its own press and publications. The union's appropriate authorities are to decide about the organization and financing of publishing activities.

Chapter VIII. The Union's Funds and Assets.

Section 37.

The union's funds are to be created as a result of:

1--Members' contributions;

2--Donations, bequests and grants;

3--Income from union assets;

4--Cultural and sport fixtures and so forth.

Section 38.

Funds are to be used to finance the union's organizational social, cultural and educational activities and its other statutory activities.

Section 39.

1--The union leadership's financial activities are to be based on budgets comprising all centers which are at this leadership's disposal.

2--Budgets are to be adopted for 1-year periods.

3--The union's financial activities are to be carried out openly.

Section 40.

1--The principles governing the distribution of sums obtained as a result of members' contributions between enterprise (interfactory) organizations and regional organizations are to be determined by general meetings of delegates at a regional level.

2--At the same time, general meetings are to determine principles governing the financing of social services (grants and allowances).

3--Regional organizations are to contribute to the cost of union-wide activities in accordance with principles to be determined by the congress.

Chapter IX. Interim and Final Provisions.

Section 41.

I. Until the union's leadership is elected on the basis of these rules:

1--The present National Coordinating Commission is to act as a national commission.

2--The present presidiums of (worker) interfactory founding committees or other appropriate committees are to act as executives of regional organizations;

3--The present factory founding committees are to act as enterprise commissions.

II. Until elections are held it will be up to interfactory founding committees to adopt resolutions with respect to matters determined in Section 40, Paragraphs 1 and 2.

III. Elections to enterprise executives are to be held within 2 months from the implementation of these rules; elections to regional executives within 5 months; and elections to the executive of the whole union within 10 months.

Section 42.

Until members' contributions are determined by a general meeting of delegates, these contributions are to amount to 1 percent of members' wages.

Section 43.

It is up to the National Commission to take decisions relevant to matters which either are not provided for in the rules or are in contention.

[Signed] J. Olszewski. W. Chrzanowski.

Certified conformable: head of Department I Secretariat, Supreme Court Labor and Social Insurance Chamber Maria Dobrzeniecka.

Annex

I. Provisions of ILO Convention No 87, adopted on 17 June 1948 and ratified by the Polish People's Republic Sejm on 14 December 1956, read as follows:

Article 1. All ILO members who accept this convention as valid undertake to abide by the following provisions.

Article 2. Workers and employers, without any discrimination and without having to obtain any advance permission, have the right to set up any organization in accordance with their wishes and join such organizations provided that they abide by their rules.

Article 3.

1--Workers' and employers' organizations have the right to draw up their own rules and internal regulations, freely elect their representatives, appoint their executives, engage in their activities and determine plans for these activities.

2--State authorities should abstain from any interference which could either limit this right or hinder its implementation in accordance with law.

Article 4. Workers' and employers' organizations can be neither dissolved nor suspended through administrative measures.

Article 5. Workers' and employers' organizations have the right to set up federations and confederations and to join them. Every organization, federation and confederation has the right to join international workers' or employers' organizations.

Article 6. Provisions mentioned in Articles 2, 3 and 4 relate to federations, confederations and organizations of workers and employers.

Article 7. The acquisition of legal status by workers' and employers' organizations and their federations and confederations cannot be made dependent on any conditions which limit the implementation of provisions mentioned in Articles 2, 3 and 4.

Article 8.

1--When exercising the rights which this convention grants them, workers, employers and the relevant organizations must abide, like other people and organizations, by laws in force in their country.

2--A country's laws should not interfere with guarantees provided for in this convention, nor should they be implemented in any way which interferes with these guarantees.

II. Provisions of ILO Convention No 98, adopted on 8 June 1949 and ratified by the Polish People's Republic Sejm on 14 December 1956, read as follows:

Article 1. Workers should enjoy adequate protection against any acts of discrimination aimed at interfering with union freedom in the labor sphere.

Such protection is to concern, in particular, acts aimed at:

A--Making a worker's employment dependent on the condition that he will not join any trade union or that he will leave a trade union;

B--Dismissing a worker or doing him harm in any other way on the grounds that he is a member of a trade union or participates in union activities outside working hours or, with the employer's permission, during working hours.

Article 2. Workers' and employers' organizations should be given adequate protection against any act of interference by one side in the other side's affairs, either directly or through representatives or members, with respect to the creation of such organizations, their activities and their management.

In particular, as understood in this article, steps aimed at organizing workers' organizations controlled by the employer or an employers' organization or at supporting workers' organizations either financially or in any other way with a view to subordinating these organizations to the control of an employer or an employers' organization will be deemed to be acts of interference.

Article 3. Whenever necessary, institutions consistent with conditions prevailing in the relevant country should be created in order to ensure that the right to set up organizations in a manner defined in the preceding articles is respected.

Article 4. Whenever necessary, steps consistent with conditions prevailing in the relevant country should be taken to encourage and support the broadest possible development and use of a procedure of voluntary negotiations, with a view to concluding collective agreements between employers on the one hand and workers' organizations on the other, in order to regulate working conditions in this way.

III. Part I, Points 1-7 of the agreement concluded by the Interfactory Strike Committee with the state commission in Gdansk on 31 August 1980 reads as follows:

1. The activities of trade unions in the Polish People's Republic have failed to fulfill the hopes and expectations of the workers.

It is recognized as advisable to set up new, self-governing trade unions which genuinely represent the working class. No one's right to remain in the present trade unions is being challenged and it is believed that it may be possible to establish cooperation between the unions in the future.

2. While setting up new, independent and self-governing trade unions, the Interfactory Strike Committee states that it will abide by the principles enshrined in the Polish People's Republic's Constitution. The new trade unions will defend the workers' social and material interests and do not intend to play the role of a political party. They abide by the principle of the social ownership of means of production on which the socialist system existing in Poland is based.

Acknowledging that the PZPR plays a leading role in the state and not undermining the established system of international alliances, they aim at ensuring appropriate means of control, expression of opinion and defense of their interests for the working people.

The state commission states that the government will guarantee and ensure complete observance of the independence and self-government of the new trade unions with respect to both their organizational structure and their functioning at all levels of their activities. The government will ensure for the new trade unions a full possibility of carrying out their basic functions in the sphere of protecting workers' interests and fulfilling the workers' material, social and cultural needs. At the same time, it promises that the new trade unions will not be discriminated against in any way.

3. The organization and activities of independent and self-governing trade unions are consistent with ILO Convention No 87 relating to union freedom and protection of union rights and Convention No 98 relating to the right to set up organizations and to engage in collective negotiations, which have been ratified by Poland. In view of the fact that many organizations representing the unions and the workers are to be created, it will be necessary to make appropriate changes in legislation. In this connection, the government undertakes to introduce bills relating, in particular, to trade union and worker self-government legislation and to a labor code.

4. The existing strike committees will be able to transform themselves either into enterprise workers' representation organs such as workers committees, office workers committees and workers councils or into founding committees of new, self-governing trade unions.

As these trade unions' founding committee, the Interfactory Strike Committee is free to opt either to transform itself either into a single union organization or into an association covering the whole sea coast. Founding committees are to function until a new leadership is elected in accordance with statutory provisions.

The government undertakes to create appropriate conditions for registering the new trade unions independently of the Central Council of Trade Unions' register.

5. The new trade unions should be genuinely able to openly express their views on any major decision determining the working people's living conditions, principles governing the division of national income between consumption and accumulation, division of the social consumption fund for various purposes (health, education and culture), fundamental principles governing wages and wage policy trends and, especially, principles governing automatic wage adjustments under inflationary conditions, long-term economic plans, investment trends and price changes. The government undertakes to ensure preconditions for carrying out these functions.

6. The Interfactory Strike Committee is setting up a social and trade work center which is to have the task of objectively analyzing the workers' situation, the working people's living conditions and ways in which the workers' interests should be represented. This center will also make expert assessments with respect to the wage and price index and suggest methods of compensation. It will also publish the results of its research. Furthermore, the new trade union will have its own publications.

7. The government will ensure respect for the provisions of Article 1, Point 1, of the 1949 law concerning trade unions, which guarantees the right of workers and employers to form trade unions on a voluntary basis. The new trade unions which are now being formed will not become members of the association represented by the Central Council of Trade Unions. It is assumed that the new law will uphold this principle. At the same time, steps will be taken to ensure that representatives of the Interfactory Strike Committee, the self-governing trade unions' founding committees and other representatives of the workers can participate in the preparation of this law.

Certified as correct: [Signed] J. Olszewski, attorney, and assistant professor, Dr W. Chrzanowski.

SILESIAN MINERS RESOLUTION HALTS PROTEST CAMPAIGN

LD020554 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] The next news item is from Katowice:

Today at 0230 representatives of the Interfactory Workers' Committee Jastrzebie, the Interfactory Founding Committee (Bytom) and the Interfactory Founding Committee Walbrzych assembled in the House of Culture of the Wujek colliery and after discussions lasting 12 or so hours adopted a resolution on stopping their protest campaign. And here is the content of the resolution:

Guided by the prime interest of the public welfare, calm and responsibility for the country's difficult situation and the approaching festive Miner's Day, we consider that the unresolved earnings problems of miners will be examined fairly in an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding. We are waiting for the arrival of the minister of mining and persons accompanying him for a meeting with the mixed commission and with representatives of works trade union commissions and works workers' commissions on 2 December at 1200 in the House of Culture of the Wujek colliery. We consider that this deadline, taking the above into account and also the approaching Miner's Day, will be accepted.

Signed by: (Andrzej Czerniecki), chairman of the protest committee; (Jaroslaw Sienkiiwicz), chairman of the Interfactory Workers' Committee Jastrzebie; and (Bogdan Chodzik), member of the presidium of the Interfactory Founding Committee and the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity Walbrzych.

Pay Accord Reached

LD022224 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Andrzej Kotulewicz reports from the Wujek mine in Katowice:

As reported earlier, the protest action of representatives of the factory workers' committees from all hard-coal mines, held at the Wujek mine, ended tonight. At noon representatives of the mixed commission, led by Minister of Mining Mieczyslaw Glanowski arrived to meet the participants in the protest action.

Those gathered in the House of Culture were first acquainted with the progress made in the implementation of the Jastrzebie agreement and the postulates which were submitted during the past 3 months to the mixed commission.

Next, the minister of mining presented the proposals on pay raises and cash supplements demanded by the miners. During the discussion the miners presented their specific conditions for the suggested pay changes in their mines. A joint communique was drafted which was approved and signed by the leadership of the ministry of mining and representatives of the present delegates of the factory workers' committees from the Upper Silesian and Lower Silesian mines.

Here is the text of the communique:

First, the workers employed underground in mines which used to work a four-brigade system and who did not achieve in October this year an increase in monthly earnings of at least Z900 compared with the average monthly earning obtained during the first 6 months of this year, without the fourteenth salary, will receive compensation of up to Z900. This agreement constitutes the final interpretation of the statement made by the minister of mining on this matter on 8 November this year.

Second, the minister of mining will place at the disposal of all mines an additional bonus fund, out of the fund for the activation of productivity, earmarked for a one-time bonus payable in December 1980. The distribution of the sum received by the mine for individual workers will be carried out by the director of the mine in conformity with the regulations.

Third, the mixed commission has decided to cancel the precepts pertaining to an additional bonus which was to be paid for the months of October and November this year, agreed upon on 23 November of this year.

After the signing of the agreement I invited Minister of Mining Dr Mieczyslaw Glanowski to the microphone.

[Begin recording] [Glanowski] As regards the first accord, the calculation of earnings for the first 6 months, it will be implemented between 10-20 December because at the moment the machines are busy calculating earnings for November.

[Question] And this will happen this month?

[Answer] I said, between 10-20 December, because at the moment the machines are busy calculating the ordinary pay for November. [end recording]

VARIOUS UNIONS REACH ACCORDS WITH GOVERNMENT

Oil, Gas Extraction Employees

LD030938 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 3 Dec 80

[Text] An agreement was initialed early this morning in Wroclaw between the government commission headed by Jerzy Malara, the deputy minister of mining, and the national mixed commission of oil and gas extraction employees of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity headed by (Stanislaw Mackiewicz).

The agreement contains 37 demands submitted by the workforces of oil and gas extraction enterprises concerning fundamental production problems, technology, social and welfare concerns, wages, organization and personnel.

Cultural Workers

LD020004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] An agreement was signed in Warsaw today between the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Workers in Culture and Art and the Ministry of Culture and Art. The agreement covers key questions of cultural development, problems of employment and wages, the status of workers in culture, and other problems of interest to both sides.

Warsaw Printers

LD011112 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1030 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] In Warsaw, the agreement between the Ministry of Culture and Art and the main board of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Printing Workers which was initialled at an earlier stage, has now been signed. The agreement affects implementation of workforces' postulates and the resolution of the 25th national congress of delegates.

PERSONNEL CHANGES MADE AT VOIVODSHIP LEVEL

Jelenia Gora Party Committee

LD262050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Nov 80

[Text] A plenum of the party voivodship committee was held in Jelenia Gora. It was devoted to a debate on the present political, social and economic situation in the country. Present was Jerzy Waszczuk, alternate member of the Politburo and party Central Committee secretary.

In the part dealing with organizational matters the plenum accepted the resignation of Stanislaw Ciosek from the post of first secretary of the voivodship committee in connection with his appointment by the Sejm to the post of minister and member of the Council of Ministers.

Jerzy Golic, the present vice voivoda and well known party activist, was unanimously elected first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Jelenia Gora.

The plenum has also made changes in the composition of the Secretariat and Executive of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

Liegnitz Party Committee

LD301116 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 30 Nov 80

[Text] A plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Liegnitz yesterday discussed organizational matters. During the plenum changes were made in the composition of the Secretariat, Executive and voivodship party Auditing Commission. In accordance with the proposals and demands of basic party organizations and echelons, an additional number of workers were elected to the Executive.

During the discussion stress was laid on the need for a rapid explanation of all the complaints from society to activists occupying management functions in party positions and the administrative machinery, and the clearing of people who had been unjustly slandered.

There was also talk about the vital need for a greater effectiveness of party influence on all spheres of social life and for an increased aggressiveness by basic party cells, particularly in workplaces.

Bydgoszcz Party Committee

LD241016 Bydgoszcz Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 21 Nov 80

[Excerpts] A plenary meeting of the voivodship party committee was held today in Bydgoszcz.

During the discussion, chaired by the first secretary of the voivodship party committee in Bydgoszcz, Henryk Bednarski, the necessity of strengthening the unity of party ranks was acknowledged. It must be served by observing the principles of democracy, collegiality, the openness of social life, honest information and enhancement of the part played by primary party organizations. The condition of democratic principles, it was stressed, is the introduction of the relations of partnership between party organizations and the authorities, and public and self-governing organizations and the strengthening of the inspiring and control functions of the party in the country's socioeconomic life.

It is essential to oppose any tendencies of disorganizing life.

New Skierniewice Voivoda

LD290218 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] The chairman of the council of ministers, after consulting the voivodship people's council in Skierniewice, has appointed Kazimierz Borczyk to the post of Skierniewice voivoda. At the same time, the chairman of the council of ministers, acceding to a request from Stanislaw Baranski, recalled him from the post of Skierniewice voivoda, thanking him for his work in that post.

Kalisz People's Council

LD012358 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] A session of the voivodship people's council met in Kalisz today to discuss the region's socioeconomic situation and the implementation of the program for agricultural and food production in 1976-80. The session made changes in the post of the council chairman. The council accepted the resignation of Zbigniew Chodyla and elected Dr Janusz Michocki in his place.

Poznan People's Council

LD280928 Poznan Domestic Service in Polish 1550 GMT 27 Nov 80

[Excerpts] A plenary session of the voivodship people's council was held in Poznan today. It assessed the socioeconomic situation in the voivodship. A report on this topic was made by Poznan Voivoda Stanislaw Cozas, who stated that the growth of the sale of products made in Poznan Voivodship and of services was lower than planned for this year.

The councillors satisfied the request of the chairman of the voivodship people's council, Jerzy Zasada, to be released from this function.

Tadeusz Czwojdrak, rector of the Agricultural Academy, was elected chairman of the people's council.

Olsztyn, Plock Council Chairmen

LD282152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Text] In Olsztyn and Plock today meetings were held of the voivodship people's councils. In Olsztyn, the situation and directions of activity were assessed in the sphere of heightening public safety and law and order. In Plock implementing the main directions of developing the food economy and agriculture in the region were assessed.

At both sessions the councillors also were informed of implementation of the demands and proposals put forward by the workforces and employees of institutions.

During the session in Olsztyn, Edmund Wojnowski, first secretary of the voivodship party committee, announced his resignation from the post of chairmen of the voivodship people's council. The councillors elected Jozef Kijowski to the post of chairman. He was previously deputy chairman of the voivodship people's council.

During the session in Plock, Kazimierz Janiak resigned as chairman of the voivodship people's council. (Jaroslaw Nowakowski) was elected the new chairman; he is director of the technical school complex in [placename indistinct].

SCINTEIA CITES POLISH PRESS ON SUBVERSIVE GROUPS

AU030929 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Dec 80 p 4

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Dec (AGERPRES)--The Polish daily TRYBUNA LUDU has been carrying articles on the organization "Confederation of Independent Poland" which, the newspaper stresses, is a "nationalist and antisocialist, illegal, antigovernmental organization financed from abroad."

Emphasizing that the organization's activities show it to be not in the least interested in political and economic revival in Poland, the newspaper stresses that "its real aims are to bring down the existing system in Poland and to detach it from the socialist countries and from the Warsaw Pact." "Its program demonstrates that the organization supports the idea of restoring capitalism in Poland, and this," the paper states, "explains its tendency to establish cooperation with the most reactionary Western circles and with centers of antisocialist diversion. The strategic goal of the 'Confederation of Independent Poland' is to undermine the state system of People's Poland and to split the Poles who are working for a better future. This activity," the paper adds, "is opposed to the vital interests of our state, and its nature is adventuristic and provocative."

The ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI newspaper writes about the manifesto circulated in Gdansk by the "movement for the restoration of the free city of Gdansk." "Free" for German nationalists and chauvinists, and in the final analysis for Hitlerites, the paper states. The manifesto states that the Polish citizens of this city have an additional condition: "To oppose the communists." "Those who circulate these handbills," the paper writes, "rely on the fact that the overwhelming majority of Gdansk inhabitants did not personally experience the events which preceded and followed the war in that free city of Gdansk. They hope that in the present atmosphere in which the ideas of 'self-management' and 'democracy' take on fresh brilliance, the revisionists will manage to penetrate this trend of revival."

The primary civic duty, the newspaper writes, is vigilance, so that the enemy of the Poles' freedom and of the working people may not be able to sow confusion. It would be a mistake to underestimate the perfidy of the enemy.

TRADE OFFICIAL MEETS WITH SOMALI MINISTER

AU021307 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1210 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Dec (AGERPRES)--During an interview held on December 2 between Ion M. Nicolae, first deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation of Romania, and Abdurahman Jama Barre, minister of foreign affairs of the Somali Democratic Republic, discussed were problems of the economic relations between the two countries, some concrete actions meant to enlarge and diversify the cooperation in various fields of mutual interest, particularly in the field of mining and agriculture, to give an impetus to the trade exchanges between the two countries.

VISIT TO SYRIA BY ROMANIAN MUSLIMS REPORTED

AU020920 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0805 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Damascus, 2 Nov (AGERPRES)--A delegation of the Muslim denomination of Romania, led by Mufti Yacub Mehmet, who are paying a visit to Syria at the invitation of the minister of Awqaf of that country, was received by 'Abd ar-Ra'uf al-Kasm, prime minister. On the occasion, the Syrian prime minister dwelt on the friendly relations between Romania and Syria, on the close relations between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Hafiz al-Asad, the remarkable contribution of the two heads of state to the deepening and intensification of the productive cooperation between the two peoples. Likewise, the Syrian prime minister was appreciative of Romania's active foreign policy placed in the service of peace, understanding and cooperation among all the nations of the world.

The delegation of the Muslim denomination of Romania also had interviews with Dr Muhammad al-Khatib, Syrian minister of Awqaf, with the mufti of the Syrian Arab Republic, with the heads of the denominations of that country and saw round establishments of the Muslim denomination of Syria.

Meeting With Al-Asad

AU022051 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2015 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Damascus, 2 Dec (AGERPRES)--The president of the Syrian Arab Republic, Hafiz al-Asad, received in Damascus a delegation of the Muslim community of Romania, led by Mufti Yacub Mehmet. Warmest wishes of peace and prosperity were conveyed to the friendly Syrian people from the Muslim population in Romania, from the Romanian people.

Recalling with satisfaction the talks conducted and understandings covenanted during the numerous meetings he had with Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, President Hafiz al-Asad pointed out that the relations developing between Romania and Syria [word indistinct] most favorable prospects of expanding in the interests of the two friendly peoples, of the general cause of peace and cooperation throughout the world.

BUCHAREST 29 NOV MEETING MARKS PALESTINIAN DAY

AU292022 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1903 GMT 29 Nov 80

[Text] Bucharest, 29 Nov (AGERPRES)--A meeting on the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people, organized by the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Romanian League of Friendship with Afro-Asian Peoples took place in Bucharest, on November 29.

In the address on the occasion, 'Abd Salim ad-Dajani, director of the United Nations Information Centre for Romania, emphasized the importance the United Nations attach to the Palestinian people's struggle for its vital and inalienable rights to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty. The speaker stressed that Romania was among the first countries of the world to firmly declare for a global, just and durable settlement of the Middle East conflict, within the United Nations. A.S. ad-Dajani highlighted that President Nicolae Ceausescu repeatedly expressed the Romanian people's solidarity with the Palestinian people. In conclusion, the speaker expressed to the Romanian Government and people high appreciation of the firm support they constantly give to the world organization and to its activities devoted to the translation into life of the Palestinian people's inalienable rights.

Then, an address was made by Khalid ash-Shaykh, permanent representative in Bucharest of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who highlighted the Palestinian people's struggle for its legitimate rights.

The Palestinian people, he highlighted, is profoundly grateful to the comradely, friendly Romanian people and to Romania's Government, to Nicolae Ceausescu, for the support given to our just fight. We know that this support serves the cause of peace, of winning the Palestinian people's legitimate rights and founding an independent national state". The speaker remembered on this occasion too, the close relations of friendship existing between the Palestinian people and the Romanian people, between the PLO and RCP, between their leaders, Yasir 'Arafat and Nicolae Ceausescu, expressing his confidence that they would keep strengthening.

Next to speak was Andrei Neagu, member of the Executive Bureau of the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] National Council, who stressed that the celebration of this day is to the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, to the entire Romanian people a fresh opportunity of reaffirmation of the feelings of friendship and militant solidarity with the Palestinian people, of the support steadfastly granted to its just cause, to the affirmation of its legitimate aspirations, of the right to self-determination, and to the building of its own, independent state, to the attainment of its aspirations after peace and prosperity.

The speaker highlighted Romania's principled position on the Middle East issue, the fact that it actively and steadfastly campaigns for the political, global settlement of the situation in the region, her proposals and actions on this line, the Romanian state's constant and active preoccupation for preventing the international tension from mounting, for the resumption and continuation of the policy of detente, independence, peace and collaboration, for securing conditions for all peoples to be able to focus their efforts on their economic and social development.

He highlighted the relations of esteem and friendship established between the Romanian people and the Palestinian people, the outstanding importance of the meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Yasir 'Arafat for the development of these relations. Romania, her president, the speaker said, declare for everything to be done in order that the Palestinian people may attain the soonest its natural aspirations after living in an independent state of its own, so that it may peacefully devote its efforts to its free development on the road of progress. The settlement of the Middle East issue, first of all of the Palestinian people's issue, he stressed, would bear profound positive influence on the entire international climate, would account for an outstanding contribution to the cause of peace, security and independence of the peoples.

SEVERE LIVEZENI MINING ACCIDENT REPORTED

AU020943 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 1 Dec 80 p 5

[Text] A grave accident, caused by an underground gas explosion, occurred on 29 November at the Livezeni mine, in the Jiu Valley coal basin.

Local party and state officials went to the site and efficiently dealt with the situation.

Immediately after the accident, upon instruction from the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, members of the party leadership and of the government, ministers, representatives of related enterprises and medical cadres also traveled to the site. Measures were taken to rescue and treat the people injured and to evacuate personnel still underground, as well as to assist all families of those affected by the accident. The accident caused the death of 49 people, and 26 were injured.

On behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council, the government and himself, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of Romania conveyed most profound feelings of compassion and condolences to the bereaved families.

A party-state commission was set up to investigate the accident and all its causes, and to adopt technical and organizational measures to strengthen labor safety and protection. The commission is formed of Comrades Emil Bobu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions, minister of labor; Virgil Trofin, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, deputy prime minister and minister of mines, geology and petroleum; George Homostean, minister of the interior; Eugen Proca, minister of health; Nicolae Popovici, prosecutor general of the republic; Lt Gen Constantin Zamfirescu, of the Ministry of National Defense; Ilie Cisu, deputy minister of labor and head of the state inspectorate for labor protection.

MIJATOVIC RECEIVES IRANIAN DELEGATION, WAR DISCUSSED

LD021612 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Dec (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received a delegation of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, parliament member Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammad Khatami, Deputy Minister Mohammad Hashemi Rafsanjani, and Iranian diplomat Mehdi Navvabi. Ahmad Abu Sa'id, Iranian charge d'affaires in Belgrade, was with them.

During a friendly and open conversation, which was attended also by Milorad Pesic, deputy federal secretary of foreign affairs, the special Iranian envoys set forth Iranian views in connection with the armed conflict in the Middle East and with the efforts to stop it. They stressed the direct and broader negative consequences of the conflict and also the desire to go on being in constant contact with Yugoslavia and other countries in order to exchange views. The representatives of Iran stressed their country's (?intention) to continue and extend friendly relations and cooperation with Yugoslavia.

The delegation of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran expressed to the president of the SFRY Presidency Iran's sincere regret over the fact that three Yugoslav citizens had become victims of the armed actions.

Speaking of the serious consequences of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict which above all harmed the two neighboring peoples, their security and the possibility of faster development of the two countries Cvijetin Mijatovic set forth the well-known attitude of Yugoslavia. This stand is a principled one. It was formulated clearly and publicly both three decades ago in the UN and on the occasion of this conflict between the two countries with which Yugoslavia maintained friendly relations and to which it explained its principled views on an equal manner.

The basic preoccupation of Yugoslavia, together with nonaligned countries, is to arrive at an immediate cessation of armed actions and to tackle a peaceful and equitable solution of the conflict. Together with other nonaligned countries Yugoslavia will continue to work in this direction and will lend its support also to other actions leading to a peaceful solution of this conflict.

The president of the SFRY Presidency also laid stress on the need to show mutual respect in this sensitive region, the same as in any other one, for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries with neither interference nor desire to influence the internal development of other countries. Speaking about the Yugoslav experience, C. Mijatovic pointed out that the building of relations based on friendship and trust first with the neighboring peoples, which permanently depend on one another, as well as with other peoples, makes every country more secure and more stable.

On the Iranian side it was stressed that Iran respected these principles both as a member of the UN and as a member of the nonaligned movement and that it would continue to do so in the future as well.

At the end the two sides expressed the desire of the two nonaligned countries to continue to intensify their cooperation based on mutual respect and on friendship between the peoples of Yugoslavia and Iran.

KANIA, PINKOWSKI SPEECHES AT PZPR PLENUM REPORTED

LD022312 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1744 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Dec (TANJUG)--The 7th plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) continued today with a discussion of the introductory reports submitted by Stanislaw Kania on PUWP tasks and of a report of information by Premier Jozef Pinkowski on the economic situation in Poland.

The Kania report dealt, above all, with party questions and its tasks on the line of the struggle for a socialist character of the reconstruction of social life in Poland.

A sizeable revival is being felt in the PUWP organizations, Kania said, but apart from this, the party as a whole has not yet found itself in the newly-arisen situation.

Democracy in the party is the key to democracy in society, in all fields of socio-political life, Kania emphasized. Many party organizations have expressed their conviction that the condition for democracy in the party is the democratic way of the work done by the Central Committee, its Politbureau and Secretariat, the true good fellowship at work, and close interrelationship between the top leadership and the nationwide body of party activists, the inclusion of a wide circle of party members in the process of decision-preparing, he said.

The first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee set out its Politbureau's stand that an extraordinary congress of the PUWP should be held in late March or early April next year.

Referring to the situation in Poland, Stanislaw Kania said the political crisis was still on, that destabilization of the economy and state was being manifested. The fate of socialism in Poland decisively depends on the party, on its capability of acting and on the closeness of the party ranks, he added.

Kania pointed to the party's unbreakable striving for living up to Poland's socialist reconstruction, adding that this process meets with no small obstacles in its way. The line of socialist reconstruction, of the rebuilding of confidence of the working class, and the line of coming to agreement with society are inviolable. This is the vital interest of socialism; this is the expression of our national and international responsibility. There is no deviation from the line of reconstruction, Kania said.

Pointing out that the Solidarity trade unions are workers' trade unions in their essence, Stanislaw Kania also said that some groups and individuals connected with the circles of imperialist diversion abroad which are hostile to socialism have infiltrated into this movement. Those forces are after dismantling and toppling the socialist statehood of Poland, he said.

The Polish party has opted for the road of reconstruction. Democratization and partnership not for the purpose of freeing the nation from the wave of strikes and then of turning everything back to its old ways, but for the purpose of having socialism given stronger social support and for building more up-to-date and more efficient mechanisms of its functioning, Kania said.

Both Kania and Premier Pinkowski pointed out that Poland still was far from a normalization of circumstances in the nation. This year's agricultural yields were catastrophically low and Poland has registered a fall in its national income for the second year in a row, Pinkowski said.

HUNGARIAN MINISTER PUJA TALKS WITH VRHOVEC

LD022346 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2117 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Dec (TANJUG)--Mutual satisfaction with the comprehensive goodneighbourly cooperation so far between Yugoslavia and Hungary is the principal characteristic of talks today between the Yugoslav Federal Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec and Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja currently on an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia.

In the talks in which the two ministers' associates are also taking part in a very open and friendly atmosphere views were exchanged on a number of questions of interest to the two countries.

In discussing current international questions the two sides exchanged information on stands and views of the two neighbouring countries in relation to major international problems. In this a shared interest of Yugoslavia and Hungary was stressed for the easing of tensions and the preservation of peace in the world towards which both countries are investing intensive efforts.

Vrhovec and Puja stated the satisfaction with the development so far of bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary. It was stated that cooperation between the two countries is developing on well-known principles and in the direction set by President Tito and Janos Kadar in their past meetings. The two ministers also exchanged information on current problems in internal development of the two countries. They stressed this time again that specificities in this development, as well as different international positions of Yugoslavia and Hungary, should not represent an obstacle to further development to the already very comprehensive bilateral cooperation in all fields.

CSSR INTERIOR MINISTER OBZINA ARRIVES ON VISIT

LD021800 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1710 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Dec (TANJUG)--Jaromir Obzina, minister of the interior of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, arrived in Belgrade with his aides today on an official and friendly visit to our country at the invitation of Franjo Herljevic, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for internal affairs. At Belgrade airport the visitors were met and welcomed by Franjo Herljevic and his aides. Also present was Oldrich Pavlovsky, Czechoslovak ambassador to our country.

ALBANIAN AMBASSADOR HOLDS RECEPTION IN BELGRADE

AU012108 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28, 29, 30 Nov 80 p 4

[Text] (TANJUG)--Sokrat Plaka, ambassador of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to Yugoslavia, gave a festive reception in Belgrade tonight on the occasion of the Albanian national day. The reception, which passed in a very cordial atmosphere, was attended by representatives of Yugoslavia's sociopolitical, economic and cultural life.

The reception was also attended by heads of the diplomatic missions accredited to our country.

VOJVODINA DELEGATION VISITS U.S. FOR ECONOMIC TALKS

LD021558 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 2 Dec (TANJUG)--A delegation of the Vojvodina Executive Council, led by its president Nikola Kmezic, left today for an official visit to the United States. During its stay in the United States the delegation, which also includes Jon Srbovan, president of the Vojvodina Chamber of Economy; Svetozar Kakic, provincial secretary for economic relations with foreign countries; Zdravko Mutin, president of the Vojvodina self-management interest community for economic relations with foreign countries; and Samuilo Protic, deputy chairman of the Provincial Committee for Relations with Foreign Countries, will have talks with the representatives of the U.S. Government on the implementation and possibilities of further expansion of cooperation between economic organizations of Vojvodina and those in the United States.

The delegation will also have talks with management staff of the U.S. firms which cooperate with their partners in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

ELECTRICITY BALANCE SHOWS EXPECTED 1981 SHORTAGE

AU021902 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 80 p 7

[D. Antic report]

[Text] Yugoslavia's electricity generation balance for the next year has been drawn up. It only remains to be adopted by the executive committee of the assembly of the electricity generation community and the Federal Executive Council. Let us immediately say that next year, too, a shortage of electricity is expected. The draft electricity generation balance for 1981 envisages a total shortage of 4,308,000 kwh of electricity, or 7.1 percent of the planned total production. Although the balance envisages an even shortage of electricity throughout the year, nonetheless the first quarter of next year can be considered an uncertain period. The forecasts for the last quarter of 1981 are also not optimistic. "The electricity generation situation will then depend to a great extent on the level of consumption, the flow of water for hydroelectric power, the supply of fuel and the production of thermoelectric powerplants and, particularly, the commissioning of new powerplants."

It is envisaged that Yugoslavia's overall electric energy production in 1981 will total 63.3 billion kwh, of which the associated hydroelectric powerplants will produce 23.6 billion kwh, the associated thermoelectric powerplants 36.8 billion kwh, the industrial thermoelectric powerplants 2.4 billion kwh, and the distributive [distributivan] hydroelectric powerplants 0.5 billion kwh of electric power. On the basis of estimates for electric power consumption for next year, it is estimated that the consumption will increase 14.1 percent compared with this year, or nearly 5 percent more than this year's increase.

New Factories the Greatest Consumers

The reason for that great consumption of power or for that shortage lies primarily in the exceptional increase of consumption on the part of the so-called direct consumers. The aluminum factory of Mostar, the second stage of Titograd aluminum combine and the Feni collective of Kavadarci are mentioned as the largest direct consumers of electricity which will be connected to the electricity grid next year. As is envisaged, the overall increase in the consumption of electric power by consumers will total 28 percent compared with the current estimate for consumption in 1980. However, as we have unofficially learned, it is nonetheless expected that not all those large consumers of electricity will begin to operate next year, and thus the increase would be within this year's limits; that is, something over 9 percent.

Some 41.4 Million Tons of Coal Are Needed

Since the expected shortage of electric power most likely cannot be avoided next year, particularly if hydrological conditions are not favorable, then the thermoelectric powerplants fired by coal will bear the greatest part of the burden in electricity production. The share of hydroelectric powerplants in the overall planned production of electricity for next year totals 38 percent now, and this is significantly less than in previous years. For this reason it is necessary next year to ensure exceptionally large quantities of coal for the production of electric power. What is needed is 41.4 million tons of lignite, brown coal, mixed and hard coal, which is 6.6 million tons or 18.6 percent more than the estimated coal consumption by the thermoelectric powerplants this year.

The high demand for coal results from the planned greater use of the thermoelectric powerplants in Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia. According to estimates, the increase will be largest in the use of lignite, because it is expected that some 5 million tons more lignite will be used than this year.

Therefore, coal will play a major if not the most important role in the production of electric power next year. For the first time since the war, the thermoelectric powerplants should produce considerably more power than the hydroelectric powerplants. The quantity of electricity will dpend on the regular supply of coal for the thermoelectric powerplants.

CROATIANS, SLOVENES CRITICIZE DEVELOPMENT DRAFT

LD021514 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Excerpts] Krsko, 2 Dec (TANJUG)--The Croatian and Slovene assemblies' delegations in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly had talks in Krsko today on the topical questions in connection with the adoption of the resolution on the socio-economic development of our country next year and on plan documents during the ensuing medium-term period.

The delegates advocated an improvement in the text of the draft of the resolution making a critical remark that the document has not yet clearly spelled out all the measures which have to be taken next year in the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization. They pointed out that the export orientation is indicated merely in a declarative manner and that neither have all the means in the struggle against inflation been exhausted. In this context they believe that both the conditions under which increased exports of at least 7 percent are to be carried out and the measures to reduce inflation have to be clearly defined.

MAMULA DISCUSSES MODERNIZING ARMY WITH KOMUNIST

LD272242 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1710 GMT 27 Nov 80

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)--The constant stepping-up of the arms race is leading to a dangerous situation and increased straining of relations among big powers. This has an unsettling effect on the political position and security of a number of countries, particularly in the Near and Middle East, Asia and Africa.

The above assessment has been made by the chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, Admiral Branko Mamula, in a talk with editors of the weekly KOMUNIST.

Conditions for preserving the security of a country were more difficult where conflicting interests of big powers were stronger, Mamuala said. He added that pressure is brought to bear both on small and non-aligned countries to allow the opening of bases and the deployment of armament and military personnel on their territory.

Mamula said that detente has been abandoned, the arms race intensified, and the military factor in internal relations gained in importance.

The constant deterioration of the military-political situation in the world calls for Yugoslavia's improving and up-dating its system of all people's defence and armed forces, in order that they can effectively oppose every aggression and prevent any surprise, Mamula stressed.

Admiral Mamula recalled that the world annually spends about 300 billion dollars on armament.

"Yugoslavia does not intend that its People's Army should keep up with such a wild race", Mamula stressed and added that Yugoslavia objectively neither can nor should keep up with it. But, he warned, Yugoslavia will not allow to lag markedly behind in some top armament and equipment. Admiral Mamula said that the Yugoslav community invests great efforts to keep up the pace of modernization and the preparedness of its armed forces and is in this respect particularly oriented towards domestic sources of armament and military equipment.

Closing the talk with editors of the organ of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, KOMUNIST, Mamula recalled that the classical doctrine of defence has been rejected in Yugoslavia both in theory and in practice. Defence in Yugoslavia is fully socialized by the implementation of the principles of all-people's defence which includes the entire population, Mamula said in conclusion.

LCY COMMISSION VIEWS DEFENSE INFORMATION

AU012124 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 80 p 8

[Text] TANJUG--Since the 11th LCY Congress, significant progress has been made in information in the field of all-people's defense and social self-protection, regarding representation of this problem, as well as integration into the overall system of social information. This assessment was made at yesterday's session of the Commission for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which was chaired by Petar Matic.

In the discussion on the information-propaganda activity in the field of all-people's defense and social self-protection, it was stressed that all domestic information media attach significant attention to informing the public about all aspects of all-people's defense. It was noted that the amount of information about this problem has been constantly increasing. However, much more important than the amount of information itself, as stated, is the fact that there should be increasingly greater insistence on the quality and systematic approach in following activities and their results.

On this occasion, certain weaknesses in informing the public about the all-people's defense and social self-protection were also pointed out.

The session also discussed certain topical questions pertaining to the work of the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection.

SERBIAN DEFENSE COUNCIL NOTES RESULTS IN DEFENSE

AU012011 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 80 p 9

[Text] In the preparations for defense on the basis of self-managing planning, all organs, organizations and communities in the republic have demonstrated an intensive activity and have achieved significant results.

This was concluded at yesterday's session of the Council for National Defense of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia (chaired by Dobrivoje Vidic) when discussing the state of and adopting the draft for further tasks and measures in the field of preparations of economic and social activities for defense which are to be adopted by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

The session also discussed and adopted other topical questions in the field of further strengthening the system of all-people's defense in the republic. The council also adopted its work program for 1981.

The pertinent officials of the republican organs of administration and the socio-political organizations also participated in the session's work.

PRESS CRITICISM OF JAVNOST JOURNAL CONTINUES

POLITIKA EKSPRES Commentary

LD011812 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1659 GMT 1 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Dec (TANJUG)--The ink of the signatures of Dobrica Cosic and Ljubomir Tadic under their "Proposed Ideological and Thematic Basis of the Magazine" was barely dry when after a lapse of no more than 1 day the London OBSERVER and the readers of that weekly knew about JAVNOST. This fact is recalled by POLITIKA EKSPRES in its issue tomorrow at the beginning of its commentary entitled "The Holy Family."

The OBSERVER cites POLITIKA EKSPRES as saying that the two of them were working on "getting the support of hundreds of intellectuals up and down the country to start the first free and independent magazine since the communists came to power in Yugoslavia." Similar articles have also appeared in other international media. Some of those editorial boards, the commentary goes on to say, got the text of the "proposal" of the two intellectual mandarins even before it got into the hands of the "chosen members" of the "morally not-indifferent intelligentsia."

What Cosic, Tadic and other signatories want is old-fashioned and resembles very much the propaganda of the critique of "The Holy Family," that is to say the brothers Bauer and their followers, whose ideological background was unmasked by Marx and Engels in the book of that name. "Like the brothers Bauer, the initiators of JAVNOST magazine neglect the role of the Yugoslav working class and the broad people's masses, the true protagonists of socialist self-managing authority in this country." They are followers of the school of reactionary and conservative socialists, systematic "pedants" of thought and their "recipes" lack any historic self-initiative for the working class. The path into its future would be pointed to by Cosic and Tadic together with selected "morally not-indifferent intelligentsia." The people assembled round JAVNOST would "put right" the world, the commentary says and concludes "the time of 'the holy family' has long since gone. Times are different now; these are times which have inscribed and enshrined in the program of the LCY that nothing is so sacred that it cannot be replaced by something better and more progressive. However, the ideas proffered by author Dobrica Cosic and philosopher Ljubomir Tadic are certainly not that and this is why they are unacceptable."

NIN Commentary

LD290200 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1257 GMT 28 Nov 80

["NIN: What Does the 'New Alternative' Offer?"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Nov (TANJUG)--It is quite clear what the authors of the proposed ideological and thematic structures of the journal JAVNOST wish to achieve, what "program" they have defined and what ideas they champion. They do not conceal this; they speak openly and make everything clear, the Belgrade paper NIN says.

The "initiators" of this ideological project have adopted a messianic attitude as the intellectual saviors of society and have offered the conclusion that "our roads have never been more complex and more uncertain." Further on in their proposed platform they offer "new alternatives to the existing situation..."

Well, then, what are these new alternatives? NIN asks.

Were these alternatives not elected as far back as 1941 and 1948 in the most difficult and dramatic historical and social conditions? Thus, any next "new alternative" would only be a return to those days, to things as they were at that time, to the "social model" which had already been offered to us and is well known to us. What could be the alternative to self-management, to the Yugoslav independent socialism, to associated labor, to national equality--either bureaucratic, dogmatic socialism or some variant of the bourgeois-democratic order. We are not aware of any "third alternative" in modern political history and theory and especially practice.

Thus, the national and class efforts of the entire society aimed at progressing further in its democratization by way of the "alternative" contained in self-management and in independent Socialist Yugoslavia and which, as such, has become unchangeable historical fate, are being negated. NIN concludes: We as an organized self-managing society will never have too much critical consciousness and critical open democratic dialogue. But we have also learned to receive critically various "critical offers" in particular in the alleged democratic quest for "new alternatives," the kind now being presented by those who would back JAVNOST rather than seek new better solutions for the alternative Yugoslav socialism adopted quite some time ago as the only historical path to the future. In this direction there is a "broad field" for every mind and also for that section of the intelligentsia which simply does not understand that it is only an equal and integral part of associated labor and not some kind of quintessential rescuer.

BRIEFS

ENERGY PRODUCTION IN KOSOVO--Pristina, 18 Nov (TANJUG)--Two new thermo-electric power stations with the total design capacity of 680 megawatts are expected to go into operation at the end of next year in the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo. When these power stations are completed, Kosovo will have the electric energy capacity of 1,430 megawatts. Open-cast lignite mines are also to be extended where production will reach between 8 and 15 million tons a year. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1324 GMT 18 Nov 80 LD]

NEW COURT PRESIDENT--Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)--Both chambers of the Assembly of Yugoslavia elected at separate sessions Dr. Mirko Perovic, a professor of Belgrade's faculty of laws, and a judge of the Federal Court, as president of the Federal Court of Yugoslavia. The outgoing Federal Court president, Pero Kogobar, has resigned for bad health reasons. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1745 GMT 26 Nov 80 LD]

VOJVODINA TRADE UNION PRESIDENT--Novi Sad, 14 Nov (TANJUG)--At today's session of the Vojvodina Trade Union Council the delegates summed up one year of experience in carrying out Tito's initiative on collective responsibility, as a result of which the number of activists in the trade union organization has grown. Tibor Njari, a member of the Presidium of the Vojvodina Trade Union Council, was elected the new president of the council. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1926 GMT 14 Nov 80 LD]

DOMESTIC FLIGHTS--According to its winter season flight schedule that comes into effect on 1 November, the Ljubljana Ineks Adria Aviopromet air transportation enterprise will increase the number of its regular flights from Sarajevo to Ljubljana, Maribor, Skopje, Titograd and Zagreb. It will provide five regular weekday DC-9 flights weekly between Sarajevo and Ljubljana, and eight regular weekday flights, including five morning and three afternoon flights, between Sarajevo and Skopje. There will also be regular Tuesday and Thursday flights between Sarajevo and Maribor, and regular Monday, Wednesday and Friday flights between Sarajevo and Titograd. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 80 p 6 AU]